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CONTENTS

GĀTHIN (GĀDHI) KAUŚIKA

UMESH CHANDRA SHARMA,
University of Poona

The third *Maṇḍala* of the *RV* has been ascribed to the seership of Viśvāmitra. As a matter of fact, the third and the seventh *Maṇḍalas* are very important from the point of view of the history of the Ṛgvedic period. In the seventh *Maṇḍala*, its seer Vasiṣṭha has narrated the story of the war fought by Sudās Paijavana with the ten confederate kings, which is known as the Dāśarājña War. Several scholars have accepted the fact that Viśvāmitra took the side of these kings and opposed Sudās and Vasiṣṭha. In the post-Ṛgvedic texts also there are several corroborations about the rivalry between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. Gāthin is said to be the father of the same Viśvāmitra.

According to the *Sarvā*,[1] Gāthin is the seer of *RV* III.19-22. There is not a single verse attributed to Gāthin in the *VS*, the *SV* and the *AV*. In the *RV*,[2] the word '*gāthin*' occurs only once in its nominative plural form. There it indicates merely its literal meaning, i.e. 'singers' or 'reciters'. Gāthin, as a personal name, is not mentioned anywhere in the *Saṁhitās*.

In all, four hymns in the *RV* have been attributed to the authorship of Gāthin. Most of the verses included in these hymns are invocations to Agni except III. 20.1,5 which invoke Viśvedevas and III.22.4 which

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1. *Sarvā*, p. 15,
2. *RV* I. 7. 1.

is addressed to *purīṣyā agnayaḥ*. In his poetry Agni has been exalted to a higher place as a deity. Agni has been prayed for the purpose of virtuous offsprings. Agni is a kind defender of mankind; he bestows gifts of glory on men.[3] He is mighty and irresistible; he comes with illuminating light and is praised by poets for his brightness.[4] The light of Agni is present in Heaven and on the earth, in plants and in waters. Agni offers wealth in the form of cattle to his invoker. He provides him with sons and helps him in spreading offspring.[5]

The *Sarvā* mentions Gāthin as the son of Kuśika Aiṣīrathi, and the father of Viśvāmitra.[6] It says that Kuśika observed penance for the sake of a son as benevolent and mighty as Indra. Then Indra himself was born as Gāthin in the house of Kuśika. Macdonell and Keith have doubted the verity of this tradition.[7] They express their doubt about Kuśika being the father of Gāthin and the latter being the father of Viśvāmitra. But they further assert that this tradition derives some support from the *AB*,[8] where reference is made to the divine lore (*daiva veda*) of the Gāthins, which is said to be shared by Śunaśśepa as a result of the latter's adoption by Viśvāmitra. But they are not sure about it and their doubt is not based on a concrete footing. Later texts like the *Rām*, the *MBh* and the *Purāṇas* support this genealogical tradition of the *Sarvā* as we shall see below.

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3. *RV* III. 19.3,5.
4. *RV* III. 21 4.
5. RV III. 22.2,5.
6. *Sarvā*, pp. 14,15.
7. *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 225.
8. *AB* VII. 18.

The *AB* and the *ŚŚS* relate a story about Śunaśśepa's inclusion among the Viśvāmitras.[9] It is needless here to refer to the whole story, because only the later portion is useful for this study. Here, it has been mentioned that fifty younger sons of Viśvāmitra, led by Madhucchandas, gave their assent for Śunaśśepa's inclusion among them as their senior. At several places here the sons of Viśvāmitra are called Gāthins (descendants of Gāthin) and Jāhnus (descendants of Jahnu). That Jahnu is the distant ancestor of the Viśvāmitras will be known from the genealogy given below. The descendants of Viśvāmitra are also said to be Kauśikas (descendants of Kuśika). This very clearly supports the tradition of the *Sarvā* and there should not arise any doubt in this connection.

The *BD* mentions that the seers Agastya, Bṛhaduktha, Viśvāmitra and Gāthin differ in regard to the deities addressed in their Vaiśvadeva hymns.[10]

There is a *Sāman* named after Gāthin. The *Gāthin Kauśika Sāman* has been referred to in the *JaiŚS* and the *ĀpŚS*.[11] It is found mentioned there : when the smoke is produced, the *Sāman* of Gāthin, the son of Kuśika, is sung. Caland[12] says that this *Sāman* is *Grāmageyagāna* II. 1.13 sung on the *RV* VIII.103.1; *SV* I. 47. The seer of this verse is Sobhari Kaṇva, and it is addressed to Agni.

Unlike the Vedic texts, in the *Rām*, the *MBh* and the *Purāṇas*, one finds the name Gādhi instead of Gāthin.

9. *AB* VII. 18: *ŚŚS* XV. 27.1.
10. *BD* II. 131.
11. *JaiŚS* XXIII; *ĀpŚS* V. 10.11.
12. *ĀpŚS*, tr. Caland, V. 10.11, note 3.

Pargiter[13] opines that Gādhi is the Prakrit form of Gāthin. The *Ṛgvedānukramaṇī*[14] of Mādhavabhaṭṭa mentions the form of Gādhi only, while *Sarvā* mentions Gāthin. Thus it is clear that both these names are the variations for the name of one and the same person.

According to the *Rām*[15] Gādhi's father was Kuśanābha (Kuśika) and his grand father was Kuśa. They were the rulers of Kānyakubja. *VāP*, *BhāP*, *ViP* and *BḍP* also agree with *Rām* in this connection.[16] When one goes through these texts carefully, one finds several variations in the name of Gādhi's father, Kuśika. The *Rām* puts it as Kuśanābha, the *VāP* as Kuśastamba, the *BhāP* as Kuśāmbu, the *ViP* as Kuśāmba and the *BḍP* as Kuśāmba and Kuśika. Kuśāmbu and Kuśāmba seem to be different due to an error on the part of a scribe. In the *BḍP*, one notices Kuśāmba and Kuśika for one and the same person. Kuśanābha and Kuśastamba are also mentioned as father of Gādhi. It is clear that in every text there occurs a variant name for Gādhi's father, but his grandfather is Kuśa everywhere. Thus, Kuśāmba or Kuśāmbu, Kuśastamba and Kuśanābha are the different names of one and the same person, i.e. Kuśika. Pargiter,[17] V. V. R. Dikshitar[18] and V. G. Rahurkar[19] also support this fact. Only *MBh* mentions

13. *AIHT*, p. 129.
14. *Ṛgvedānukramaṇi* V. 8.7.
15. *Rām* I. 33.5, 6; 50.18, 19.
16. *VāP* 91.62-65; *BhāP* IX.15.4; *ViP* IV. 7.3.5; *BḍP* III. 66.31-35
17. *AITH*, pp. 67, 144, 151, 198, 312.
18. *Purāṇa Index*, Vol. I, pp. 414-15.
19. *The Seers of the Ṛgveda*, p. 15.

the name of Kuśika's father as Vallabha instead of Kuśa.[20] But it must be noted at this juncture that the genealogy of the Kānyakubja dynasty as given in the *MBh* is unsatisfactory, incorrect and incomplete. Therefore the mention in the *MBh* is untenable. Pargiter[21] has also set aside the genealogy given in the *MBh* and has proved it to be defective. Iṣīratha, who is said to be the father of Kuśika in the *Sarvā* does not occur in the genealogical list. It seems to be another name for Kuśa.

Thus, on the basis of various details found in the *Rām* and the *Purāṇas*, the place of Gāthin or Gādhi can be shown in the genealogy in the following manner :—

Jahnu
|
Sunaha
|
Ajaka
|
Balākaśva
|
Kuśa
|
Kuśika
|
Gāthin or Gādhi (m. Paurukutsī)

- Satyavatī (m. Ṛcīka)
  - Jamadagni
- Viśvamitra
  - Madhucchandas, etc.

It is mentioned in the *Rām*[22] that Rāvaṇa conquered the kings Gādhi Suratha, Gaya, Purūravas, etc.

20. *MBh* XII. 49.3; XIII. 4.5.
21. *AIHT*, p. 100.
22. *Rām* VII. 19.4,5.

But this fact is improbable, because all these kings belong to different times and were not contemporary to Rāvaṇa.[23]

Kuśika was childless. So he observed an austere penance to get a son like Indra. Then Indra himself was born as Gādhi, son of Kuśika.[24] It has already been stated that the *Sarvā* also relates the same story in this connection.

In the *MBh*, the story about Satyavatī's marriage and Viśvamitra's birth occurs.[25] It will be proper to reproduce it in brief here.

In Kānyakubja, there was a famous king named Gādhi. He had a pretty daughter named Satyavatī, whom Ṛcīka Bhārgava married. In exchange for his daughter, the king desired in return from the Ṛṣi one thousand horses, each with one ear black. Horses of this type were not easily available on the earth. So Ṛcīka approached Varuṇa and placed his demand before him. Varuṇa offered him the required type of horses and the Ṛṣi gave them to Gādhi. Thus, he got Satyavatī and pleased her father also. Once upon a time, Ṛcīka's father visited his son's hermitage. He was much pleased with Satyavatī for the services she rendered to him. He told her to ask for whatever boon she desired. Satyavatī asked for two sons--one for herself and the other for her mother. He commanded her to embrace the *udumbara* tree and her mother to embrace the *pippal* tree as a part of the rite to get progeny. But they did just the reverse at the time of embracing. Having known this, the Ṛṣi

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23. *AIHT*, pp. 144-49.

24. *MBh* XII. 49.3-6; *ViP* IV. 7.4,5; *VāP* 91.63-65; *BdP* III. 66.33-35.

25. *MBh* III. 115.9-28

told her that she would be blessed with a *brāhmaṇa* son bearing the qualities of a *kṣatriya* and that her mother with a *kṣatriya* son having the qualities of a *brāhmaṇa*, due to the reversal in embracing. Satyavatī did not like to have a *kṣatriya*-like son; so she again prayed and got the blessings to the effect that not her son, but her grandson would bear the qualities of a *kṣatriya*. Thus Jamadagni was born to her.

At several places in the post-Vedic texts,[26] one finds the same story repeated with some variations. But these variations are not worth consideration in this context. The story goes on thus—

In the meantime, Gādhi's wife Paurukutsī gave birth to a child who bore the qualities of a *brāhmaṇa*. He was named as Viśvamitra. Satyavatī's son Jamadagni bore the qualities of a *brāhmaṇa*; but her grandson Rāma Jāmadagnya was a brave man having the warlike valour. Satyavatī changed herself into the form of the river Kauśikī (modern Kosi).

It is also recorded in the *MBh*[27] that Gādhi wanted to depart to the forest after installing his son Viśvāmitra to the throne. But his subjects requested him to continue as king and not to leave the kingdom. Then, Gādhi told them not to be alarmed because his son would be the protector of the whole earth; therefore he consecrated him to the throne. Having entrusted the kingdom to his son, he departed to the forest.

A long discourse between Cyavana and Kuśika is recorded in the *MBh.*[28] The contemporaneity of

26. *MBh* XII. 49.6-28; XII. 4. 6-46; *ViP* IV. 7. 6-16; *VāP* 91.66 88; *BdP* III. 66.36-59; *BhāP* IX.15.4-12; *Rām* I. 33.5-8.

27. *MBh* IX. 39. 12-16.

28. *MBh* XIII. 52-56.

Cyavana and Kuśika adds to our belief that these two families had been on good terms and were closely related to each other for at least four generations. Here it is wrongly mentioned that Jamadagni, son of Ṛcīka, married Satyavtī, daughter of Gādhi. Jamadagni was, in fact, the son of Satyavatī, and the name of his wife was Ṛeṇukā.

The *BhāP* at one place mentions Gādhi among the great kings like Pṛthu, Purūravas, Nahuṣa, Bharata, Arjuna, Māndhātṛ, Raghu and Sagara.[29] All of them are mentioned as desirous of having more territory on the earth.

The foregoing study leads us to the following conclusions :—

1. The Vedic Gāthin and the Purāṇic Gādhi are one and the same person.

2. Unlike other minor seers of the *RV*, we do not come across any verse attributed to him either in the *VS*, the SV or the AV.

3. His father was Kuśika, himself a Vedic seer; his wife, daughter and son were Paurukutsī, Satyavatī and Viśvāmitra respectively. But the real name of Paurukutsī remains obscure.

4. Like his father Kuśika and son Viśvāmitra, Gāthin was a '*rājarṣi*' in a true, literal sense. He was a king as well as a seer.

---

29. XII. 3.9-13.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	...	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*
AIHT	...	*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition* by F. E. Pargiter.
ĀpŚS	...	*Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra.*
AV	...	*Atharvaveda.*
BD	...	*Bṛhaddevatā.*
BdP	...	*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa.*
BhāP	...	*Bhāgavata Purāṇa.*
JaiŚS	...	*Jaiminīya Śrauta Sūtra.*
MBh	...	*Mahābhārata.*
Rām	...	*Rāmāyaṇa.*
RV	...	*Ṛgveda.*
Sarvā	...	*Sarvānukramaṇī* of Kātyāyana, ed. by A. A. Macdonell, Oxford, 1886.
ŚŚS	...	*Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra.*
SV	...	*Sāmaveda.*
VāP	...	*Vāyu Purāṇa.*
ViP	...	*Viṣṇu Purāṇa.*
VS	...	*Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā.*

HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION OF KING KHĀRAVELA OF ORISSA—A STUDY

SADHU RAM
New Delhi

Site : Hāthīgumphā Cave on Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri Hill in Orissa.

Published by :

Prinsep, *JASB*, VI, pp. 1075-91; Cunningham, *CII*, Vol. I. pp. 27 ff., 98-101, 132 ff.; Bhagwanlal Indraji, *ASCIO*, Pt. III, Sec. 2, pp. 157-77; Bühler, *List*, No. 1345; Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III, pp. 425 ff.; IV, pp. 364 ff.; XIII, 221 ff.; XIV, 150 ff.; Sten Konow, *AO*, I, 12 ff.; Thomas, *JRAS*, 1922, 38 ff.; Jayaswal & Banerji, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, 72 ff.; Barua, *IHQ*, XIV, 261 ff.; *OBI*, No. I; D.C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.* 2nd ed., pp. 213-221; S. N. Ghoshal, English translation of German article of Jarl Charpentier, *JOIB*, XIII, No. 4. pp. 301 ff.

Language : Prākrit.

Script : Brāhmī of about the latter half of first century B.C.

Object : Eulogy of King Khāravela of Kaliṅga, and the yearwise account of his achievements.

Introduction

This inscription of king Khāravela is engraved on the over-hanging brow of an open cave, called Hāthīgumphā, on the Udayagiri hill in Orissa. Next to the edicts of Aśoka in Kaliṅga, this is the only Brāhmī record which is inscribed by an independent king of

Kaliṅga. It consists of 17 lines covering a space of about 84 square feet. Time and weather have worked havoc on the writing which, though quite deeply engraved, has particularly suffered at the left corner and the intervening space between the comparatively well-preserved first six lines and partly preserved last four lines. R. D. Banerji considered the Brāhmī alphabet to be about on a par with that represented by the Nānāghāt Cave inscription of Nāyanikā, queen of Śrī Sātakarṇi I[1]; but R. P. Chanda places the epigraph not only after the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of Heliodorus, but also after the Bharhut gateway inscription of Dhanabhūti.[2]

In the margin of the writing, there are two symbols; one, a crown-shaped figure against line 2, called *buddha-maṅgala* by the Jainas, and the other, a *savastikā* against lines 4-a. At the end of the record is the figure of a tree within railing. The crown-like symbol is the last of the eight auspicious symbols of the Jainas known as the *Aṣṭa-maṅgalas*, viz., *svastikā*, mirror, *kalaśa*, *bhadrāsana*, fishes, flower-garland, a book, and *buddhamaṅgala*.

The text of the inscription is composed in ornamental prose of the *Kāvya*-style which is rhythmical on account of profuse alliterations. It contains long compounds, elegant and florid expressions, and balanced phrases. According to Jayaswal, "There is evidence to prove that the inscription was composed by some one who was elderly, who must have seen Khāravela as a young lad playing about; for, he describes Khāravela playing before his 15th year 'with majestic body of fair-brown (complexion)'. In the

1. *MASB*, The Palaeography of the Hāthīgumphā & Nānāghāt Inscription.
2. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 460.

Council of Ministers without whose approval the inscription could not have been published, there would have been some elderly men who by virtue of their office and age could make a paternal reference to Khāravela's childhood."[3]

For our text, we have studied the facsimile of the inscription published by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal[4] and also consulted the readings of other scholars and have used our discretion in making our choice.

TEXT

(In the footnotes, B. = B. M. Barua, C = A. Cunningham, I = Bhagwanlal Indraji, J. = K. P. Jayaswal, P. = J. Prinsep, and S. = D. C. Sircar.)

१. (Crown) (Svastika)[5]

नमो अरहंतानं [।] नमोसव-सिधानं [।।] ऐरेण
नमोऽर्हद्भ्यः । नमः सर्व-सिद्धेभ्यः ।। ऐरेण
महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन चेति-राज-व [ं] स-वधनेन पसथ-सुभ-
महाराजेन माहामेघवहनेन चेति-राज-वंश-वर्धनेन प्रशस्त-शुभ-
लखनेन[6] चतुरंत-लुठ [ण]-गुण-उपितेन[7] कलिंगाधिपतिना सिरि-खार-
लक्षणेन चतुरन्त-लुण्ठन-गुणोपेतेन कलिङ्गाधिपतिना श्री-खार-
बेलेन
वेलेन

२. [पं] दरस-वसानि सीरि-[कडार]-सरीरवता कीडिता कुमार-कीडिका[।।]
पञ्चदश-वर्षाणि श्री-कडार-शरीरवता क्रीडिताः कुमार-क्रीडिकाः ।।
ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सव-विजवादातेन
ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-व्यवहार-विधि-विशारदेन सर्व-विद्यावदातेन
नव-वसानि योवराज[ं] [प] सासितं[।।]संपुण-चतुवीसति-वसो तदानि
नव-वर्षाणि यौवराज्यं प्रशिष्टम् ।। सम्पूर्ण-चतुर्विंशति-वर्षस् तदानीं

---

3. *JBORS*, III, p. 452. 4. *JBORS* III, 425 ff. Plate.

5. In the margin of lines 2 and 4-5 respectively.

6. B लखणेन ।

7. B. गुण-उपतेन; J. ° लुठित-गुणोपहितेन ।

वधमान-सेस-योवनाभिविजयो[8] ततिये
वर्धमान-शेष-यौवनाभिविजयस् तृतीये
३. कलिङ्ग-राज-वसे पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं पापुनाति [॥ॐ] अभिसित-
कलिङ्ग-राज-वंशे पुरुष-युगे महाराजाभिषेचनं प्राप्नोति ॥ अभिषिक्त-
मतो च पधमे वसे वात-विहत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति
मात्रश् च प्रथमे वर्षे वात-विहत-गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशन प्रतिसंस्कारयति
कलिंग-नगरि-[9]खिबी [रं] सितल-तडाग-पाडियो[9] च बंधापयति सवूयान
कलिङ्ग-नगरी-खिबीरं शीतल-तडाग-पालीश् च बन्धयति, सर्वोद्यान-
प [टि] संथपनं च
प्रतिसंस्थापनं च
४. कारयति पनतिसाहि[10] सत-सहसेहि पकतियो च रंजयति [॥] दुतिये च वसे
कारयति पञ्च-त्रिंशता शत-सहस्रैः, प्रकृतीश् च रञ्जयति ॥ द्वितीये च वर्षे
अचितयिता सातकंतिं पछिम-दिसं हय-गज-नर-रध-बहुलं दंडं पठा-
अ-चिन्तयित्वा सातकर्णिं पश्चिम-दिशं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुलं दण्डं प्रस्था-
पयति कन्हबेंणां गताय च सेनाय वितासिति[11] असिक[12]-नगरं [॥] ततिये
पयति, कृष्णवेणां गतया च सेनया वित्रासयति ऋषीक-नगरम् ॥ तृतीये
पुन वसे
पुनर् वर्षे
५. गंधव-वेद-बुधो दप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदसनाहि उसव-समाज-कारा-
गन्धर्व-वेद-बुधो दर्प-नृत्य-गीत-वादित्र-संदर्शनैर् उत्सव-समाज-कार-
पनाहि च कीडापयति नगरिं [॥] तथा चवुथे वसे विजाधराधिवासं
णाभिश् च क्रीडयति नगरीम् ॥ तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे विद्याधराधिवासम्
अहत-पुवं कलिंग (?)—पुव-राज-[निवेसितं]...... वितध-म [कु]

8. J. and S. वधमान सेसयो-वेनाभिविजयो ।
9–9. J. ० खिबीर-इसि-ताल-तडाग-पाडियो ।
10. S. पनसि(ति)साहि ।
11. J. वितसितं 12. J. and R. D. Banerji मुसिक० ।

ट[13]......[14]

अ-हत-पूर्वं कलिङ्ग-पूर्व-राज-निवेशितं...... वितथ-मकुट......

च निखित-छत (?)—

च निक्षिप्त-च्छत्र—

६. भिंगारे [हि]त-रतन-सपतेये सव-रठिक-भोजके पादे वंदापयति [।।]

भृङ्गारं हृत-रत्न-सम्पत्तिकं सर्व-राष्ट्रिक-भोजकं पादौ वन्दयति ।।

पंचमे च दानी वसे नंदराज-ति-वस-सत-ओ [घा] टितं तनसुलिय-वाटा

पञ्चमे चेदानीं वर्षे नन्दराज-त्रि-वर्ष-शतोद्घाटितां तनसुलिय-वर्त्मना

पणाडिं नगरं पवेस[य]ति सो...... [।।] [अ] भिसितो च [छठे वसे]

प्रणालीं नगरं प्रवेशयति सो.........।। अभिषिक्तश् च षष्ठे वर्षे

राजसेयं[15] संदंसयंतो सव-कर-वण—

राज-श्रियं संदर्शयन् सर्व-कर-पणा—

७. [16]अनुगह [ं] अनेकानि[16] सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-जानपदं [।।]

सतमं[17]च

-नुग्रहम् अनेकानि शत-सहस्राणि विसृजति पौर-जानपदम् ।।

सप्तमं च

वसं [पसा] सतो[18] [19] बजिरघर...स मतुक-पद...[कु]म[19].... [।।]

......अठमे

वर्षं प्रशासद् वजिरघर...सा (?)–मातृक (?).. पद...कुम... ।।

...अष्टमे

च वसे महता [20] सेनाय अपतिहत-भिति[20] गोरध-गिरिं

च वर्षे महत्या सेनयाऽप्रतिहत-भित्तिं गोरथ-गिरिं

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13. B. मकुटे ।

14. In the lacuna after मकुट, B. सविप्रवजिते; J. and Banerji स विलम' ढिते ।

15. J. राजसुयं । 16-16. S. अनुग्रह-अनेकानि 17. B. सतमें ।

18. B. [अ] स-सतो । 19-19. B. वजिरघर-खतिय-सत-घटनि-समतक-पदवंन संति पद ??...; J. वजिरघरवती घुसित-घरिणी स मतुक-पद-पुंन...[कु] म... In the lacuna after वजिरघर, Prinsep and Cunningham read सवत-कहदपन-नरप ।

20-20. As read by B. Sircar leaves lacuna after. सेना

८. घातापयिता राजगहं[21] उपपीडपयति [।।] एतिन [।] च कंमपदान-
स [ं] नादेन

घातयित्वा राजगृहम् उपपीडयति ।। एतेन च कर्मापदान-
संनादेन

संबित[22]-सेन-वाहने विपमुचितँ मधुरं अपयातो य वनरा [ज] [डिमित ?]
संवीत-सेन-वाहनं विप्रमोक्तुं मथुराम् अपयातो यवनराजः डिमितः (?)
......[23]यछति .. पलव...[23]
...... यच्छति...... पल्लव...

९. कप-रुखे हय-गज-रथ-सह यति[24] सव[25]-घरावास...[25] सव-गहणं च
कल्प-वृक्षो हय-गज-रथैः सह यतिः सर्व-गृहावास..... सर्व-ग्रहणं च
कारयितुं ब्रह्मणानं ज[य][26]-परिहारं ददाति [।।] अरहत.....
[नवमे च वसे][27]...[28]
कारयितुं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः जय-परिहारं ददाति ।। अर्हत्....... नवमे च वर्षे...

१० ......[28] महाविजय-पासादं कारयति अठतिसाय सत-सहसेहि [।।]
.... महाविजय-प्रासादं कारयति अष्टत्रिंशताशत-सहस्रैः ।।
दसमे च वसे दंड-संधी-सा[ममयो](?)[29] भरधवस-पठा (?) नं
मह [ि] -जयनं[30]
दशमे च वर्षे दण्ड-सन्धि-साममयो भारतवर्ष-प्रस्थानं मही-जयनं
......कारापयति [।।] [एकादसमे च वसे][31]...प [।[यातानं च म
[नि]
......कारयति ।। एकादशे च वर्षे.....अपयातानां च मणि-
रतनानि उपलभते[32] [।।]
रत्नान्युपलभते ।।

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21. P. राजगभं उपपीडयति; C. राजगंभु उपपीडयति; I. राजगहनपं पीडापयति;

22. As. read by J. ; S. leaves lecuna; P. पंवात; B. पबंत.

23-23. B. गछति पलव-भार. 24. B. यंति; J.—यंते; I.—यत.

25-25 P. घरवसप....; C. घरवसय-अनतिकगवय; I. घरवसधं ....; J. घरावास-परिवेसने अगिणठिया. B. ° वास प ???? य. 26. J. जाति-पंति; P. जत for जय.

27. Supplied by S. 28-28. J. मानतिराज-संनिवासं; B....वसु-विजयते उभय-प्राची-तटे राज-निवासं. 29. C. दतिभिसर; B. दड-नि ? धीत भिसमयो.

30. C. महयनं, 31. Supplied by S. 32. B.—सह याति.

११. [33]……पुव-राज-निवेसितं[33] [34] पीथुंडं गदभ-नंगलेन कासयति[34] [।।]
…………पूर्व-राज-निवेशितं पीथुण्डं गर्दभ-लाङ्गलेन कर्षयति ।।
जन [प] द-भावनं च तेरस-वस-[35]सत-कतं भि[ं] दति[35] त्रमिर-देष[36]-संघातं [।।]
जनपद-भावनं च त्रयोदश-वर्ष-शत-कृतं भिनत्ति त्रमिर-देश-संघातम् ।।
बारसमे च वसे……[37] [सह] सेहि वितासयति उतरापध-राजानो…
द्वादशे च वर्षे……सहस्रैः वित्रासयत्युत्तरापथ-राजान्
१२. म [ा] गधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो [38]हथ सं गंगाय[38] पाययति [।।] म [ाग] ध [ं] च
मागधानां च विपुलं भयं जनयन् हस्त्यश्वं गङ्गायां पाययति ।। मागधं च
राजानं बहसतिमितं पादे वंदापयति [।।] नंदराज-नीतं[39] च क [लिं] ग-जिन[40]
राजानं बृहस्पतिमित्रं पादौ वन्दयति ।। नन्दराज-नीतं च कलिङ्ग-जिन-
संनिवेस …..[41]अंग-मगध-वसुं च नयति [।।] ..
संनिवेशं……अङ्ग-मगध-वसु च नयति ।।
१३. …[क] तु [ं] जठर-लखिल-[गोपु]राणि[42] सिहराणि निवेसयति सत-विसिकनं
….कर्तुं जठर-लक्ष्मील-गोपुराणि शिखराणि निवेशयति शत-विंशकानां
[प] रिहारेहि [।।] अभुतमछरियं च हथी-निवा[सं][43] परिहर[44]…. हय-हथि-
परिहारैः ।। अद्भुतमाश्चर्यं च हस्ति-निवासं प्रतिहरति,…हय-हस्ति-
रतन–[मानिकं] पंडराजा….[45] [मु] त-मनि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत-
रत्न-माणिक्यं; पण्डराजान्….मुक्ता-मणि-रत्नान्याहारयति इह शत-
[सहसानि]
सहस्राणि

33.-33. As read by B. J. मंडं च अवराज-निवेसितं; S. पुवं राज °.
34-34. B. पिथुडग-दभ-नगले नेकासयति.
35-35. J.–सतिकं आभिदति. 36. As read by J; S.–दह (?)–; I.–देह– 37. J.…हसके; B. सिवकानं. 38-38. J. हथी सुगंगीय. 39. B. जितं. 40. B.-जन.– 41. In the lacuna, J. गह-रतनानं परिहारेहि; B. कितव-नय-निपुनेहि; I. गह-रतन-परिहारेहि. 42. J.-बरानि. 43. P. हथि-नवुन; C. हथि-नवेन; B. हथि-नाव [तं] 44. J. परिसरं.
45. In the lacuna, J. चेदानि अनेकानि; B. आभरणानि ।

१४. ···सिनो वसीकरोति [॥] तेरसमे च वसे सुपवत-विजय-चके कुमारी-
······सिनो वशीकरोति ॥ त्रयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवृत्त-विजय-चक्रे कुमारी-
पवते अरहते [हि][46] पखिन-सं [सि] तेहि काय[47]-निसीदियाय या-
पूजावकेहि[48] राज-
पर्वते अर्हद्भ्यः प्रक्षीण-संश्रितेभ्यः काय-निषद्यायै यापोद्यापकेभ्यः राज-
भितिनि (नं) चिन-वातानि (नं) वास [ासि] तानि (नं) पूजानुरत[49]-
उवा [सग-खा] र-
भृतानां चीर्ण-व्रतानां वर्षाश्रितानां पूजानुरक्तोपासक-खार-
वेल-सिरिना जीव-देह-[सयि] का[50] परिखाता [॥]
वेल-श्रिया जीवदेहाश्रयिकाः परिखानिताः ॥

१५. ···सकत[51]-समण सुविहितानं च सव[52]-दिसानं ञ [ति]नं (?)
तपसि-इ [सि] नं[53]
सत्कृत-श्रमणः सुवितानां च सर्व-दिशानां ज्ञानिनां तपस्वि-ऋषीणां
संघियनं[54] अरहत-निसीदिया-समीपे पाभारे वराकर-समुथापिताहि
संघीयानाम् अर्हन्निषद्या-समीपे प्राभारे वराकार-समुत्थापिताभिर्
अनेक-योजनाहिताहि·······[55] सिलाहि[56]······
अनेक-योजनाहृताभिः······शिलाभिः······

१६. ····चतरे च वेडुरिय-गभे थंभे पतिठापयति पानतरीय-सत-सहसेहि
······चत्वरे च वैडूर्य-गर्भान् स्तम्भान् प्रतिष्ठापयति पञ्चोत्तर-शत-सहस्रैः
[॥] मु[खि]य[57]-कल[58]-वाछिनं[59] च चोय [ठि]-अंग[60] संतिक
[·][61] तुरियं उपादयति [॥]
मुख्य-कलावछिन्नं च चतुः षष्टयङ्गं शान्तिकं तौर्यम् उत्पादयति ॥

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46. J. अरहयते. 47. B. कय्य=SKt. कल्य. 48. P. यापुहवकेहि; C. यापुजकेहि; J. याप-ञावकेहि. 49. B. पूजाय रत.
50. P. जि देत; C. जिविमक; J.–सिरिका; B. suggests सयिका.
51. J. सुकता–. 52. J. सत–. 53. C. सिम-पुस; B. [सम]पसि[नं].
54. J. संघाश्नं. 55. In the lacuna, B. पक्व सिसेहि सन-[सहसा] हि; J. प...सि...ो. 56. After सिलाहि, J. सिंह-पथ-राजी-सिंधुलाय निसयानि ...पटलको; P. सपपथ-धरसि धनस्य; B. सिपज-थभ-निवध-सयनासनानि व... पटालके।

57. P....रिय; C....य; I., J., Konow मुरिय. 58. J. कालं, I. and Fleet काल; B., C. कल. 59. B. वोछिने. 60. P. चोयथ अगि; C. चेयठ अगे; I. चोयथ अगे; B. चोयठ अंगे, 61. P., C. सतिक; I. सतिकु; Konow सतिकं.

खेम-राजा स वढ-[62] राजा स भिखु-राजा धम-राजा पसं [तो] सुनं[तो]
क्षेम-राजः स वृद्ध-राजः स भिक्षुराजो धर्म-राजः पश्यन् शृण्वन्
अनुभव [तो] कलाणानि

अनुभवन् कल्याणानि

१७. गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-दे [वाय]तन-सकार-
गुण-विशेष-कुशलः सर्व-पाषण्ड-पूजकः सर्व-देवायतन-संस्कार-
कारको अ-पतिहत-चक-वाहन[63]-बलो चकधरो[64] गुत-चको पवत-
कारको ऽ प्रतिहत-चक्र-वहन-बलश् चक्र-धरो गुप्त-चक्रः प्रवृत्त-
चको राजसि-वसू[65]-कुल-विनिश्रितो[66] महाविजयो राजा खारवेल-
चक्रो राजर्षि-वसु-कुल-विनिश्रितो महाविजयो राजा-खारवेल-
सिरि [।।] [Symbol of tree within railing]

श्रीः ।।

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62. B. वध.
63. J.-वाहनि-.
64. J. चक-धुर-.
65. B.- वंस-.
66. C. विनिगत ।

Notes

1. *Crown* & *Svastikā* (against lines 2 & 4-5)—These are two of eight auspicious symbols of the Jainas. The crown is called *buddhamaṅgala*.[67]

2. अरहंतानं (Line 1)—In Prākrit, the genitive is usually used for the dative case. The word *arhat* is used in a respectful address for *arhasi* (Pāṇini, III. 2. 133). An *arhat* is a superior divinity with the Jainas, and is the highest rank in the Buddist hierarchy.[68] He is described as :

Sarvajño jita-rāgādi-doṣas trailokya-pūjitaḥ,
Yathā-sthitārtha-vādī ca devo 'rhan parameśvaraḥ.[69]

3. सव-सिधानं (line 1)—A *Siddha* is a semi-divine being of great purity and perfection, and is said to possess the eight supernatural faculties (*aṣṭa siddhis*), viz.,

Aṇimā laghimā prāptiḥ prākāmyaṁ mahimā tathā,
iśatvaṁ ca vaśitvaṁ ca tathā kāmāvasāyitā.

In Jainism, the twenty-four Jinas are known as the Siddhas, and are supposed to flourish in each of the three *avasarpiṇīs*, being born in Āryāvarta. An *avasarpiṇī* is a descending period of long duration divided into six stages, viz., good-good, good, good-bad, bad-good, bad, bad-bad.[70]

4. ऐरेण (line 1)—The word *aira* also occurs as an epithet in a Mañchapuri inscription of Kudepa (or,

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67. Vide *Introduction*, para 2, *supra*.
68. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary* s. v. *arhat*.
69. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed. p. 120 fn. 2.
70 Monier Williams, *op. cit.*, s. v., *siddha*, *siddhi*, *Jina*, *avasarpi*.

according to Sircar, Vakadepa)[71], a descendant of Khāravela, and the king of Orissa. That it is a royal epithet, there is no dubt; for, it is known for the first time from the Velpūru inscription of the king Aira Mānasada (A. D. 186), and the Airas ruled over the Guntur district and the adjoining area in the second century A. D.[72] The term has been variously interpreted by scholars. K. P. Jayaswal regards it as equivalent to *Aila*, 'a descendant of *Iḷā* or *Iḷa*, father or mother of Purūravas'[73]. Barua is inclined to take it as equivalent to Pāli *ayira* in the sense of *sami*[74] (=*svāmī*), 'lord'. In a Sātavāhana inscription, it has been translated by Senart as 'noble'[75], equating it perhaps with *ārya*. Dr. Sircar has actually rendered it by *ārya*[76]. But this does not seem to be philologically possible. Sukumar Sen has suggested that the patronymic explanation is excluded by the mention of king's dynasty as Ceti, and the word should be derived from *irā*, 'water', 'food', 'refreshment', 'comfort', 'enjoyment', and taken as equivalent to the Vedic *árya*, 'active, powerful, energetical; a lord'. "In the last sense, *aira* is equivalent to īśvara, and in this sense *aira* (*árya*) seems to have been current as a term indicating a follower of the cult of īśvara. As a matter of fact, *airika* (*aira*+*ka*) was current in this sense as *c.* 1100 A.D."[77] According to Sen, Sarah, the founder of the 'Sahaja' cult, calls the followers of

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71. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 222.
72. *Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, pp. 82, 84.
73. *Ibid.*, XX, p. 80, fn 3.
74. *IHQ.*, XIV, p. 470, fn. 151.
75. *JBORS*, III, p. 434.
76. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 219.
77. *PIHC*, XVI, pp. 34-35.

Īśvarism as 'Airas'. Originally, he says, Īśvarism was not a Śaiva cult, but may have been connected with god Indra as suggested by the accompanying word Mahāmeghavāhana. Narayana Tripathi, on the other hand, says that, according to the *Mahābhārata*, after the destruction of the Kṣatriya race by Paraśurāma, the persons known as Kṣatriyas on this earth came to be known as *avaraja*, 'low-born' or inferior in birth. Therefore all the ruling Kṣatriyas made themselves known as the descendants of Aila, or the family of Ikṣvāku. Utkala, the founder or one of the remotest rulers of the kingdom of Utkala, was the eldest son of the Emperor Sudyumna *alias* Ila[78]. Narayana, therefore, says, "If the supposition that *Aira* of the inscription stands for Purāṇic *Aila* be correct, then the expression can be explained by itself, independent of Chedis of Mahākosala, to one of whose branches the family of Khāravela is supposed to have belonged."[79] He also quotes the names of several places and villages is Orissa beginning with the word *air*, e. g., Airipura, Airikiṇa, Airam, Airilo, etc.

In our opinion, all these explanations are hypothetical and without any basis. We have therefore left the term untranslated.

5. माहामेघवाहनेन (line 1)—It means 'a descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana.' It is a family name. Barua indentifies the Mahāmeghavāhana with the local dynasty of the Meghas of South Kosala which, according to the Purāṇas, arose during the Āndhra period. They were the contemporaries and powerful rivals of the Sātavāha-

78: *Bhāgavata*, 9th *Skanda*, ch, 23; *Khila Harivaṁśa*, ch. 31.
79. *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 190.

nas.[80] But Prof. Jagan Nath does not think this suggestion as plausible because "the Purāṇas place Meghas in Kosala, weheras the Mahāmeghavāhanas are definitely described in their own records as lords of Kaliṅga."[81] According to him, Mahāmeghavāhana, the ancestor of Khāravela, seems to have wrested Kaliṅga from the Mauryas soon after Aśoka's death, and founded an independent line of kings.

6. चेति-राज-वंस (line 1)—Some epigraphists read *Ceta* for *Ceti*. Accepting the reading *Ceta*, J. N. Sikdar writes that Khāravela belonged to the Ceta or Caitra dynasty. In the *Devī-māhātmya* of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, he found a Kṣatriya king Suratha who flourished in the Caitra dynasty. He is said to have been defeated by 'the destroyers of Kolas or Colas (*Kola-dhvaṁsinaḥ*),' and to have retired to the forest.[82]

According to the Purāṇa, *Caitra-vaṁśa* was founded by king Caitra, 'son or descendant' of Svarociṣa, one of the Manus of the Solar race. Sikdar thinks that Khāravela belonged to the same Caitra dynasty, which fact, he says, is supported by his epithet *aira* (=*Aila*) or Manu dynasty. On the contrary, Professors Jayaswal and Jagan Nath take Aila to mean 'a descendant of the Lunar Race'[83].

But most of the scholars have accepted the reading *Ceti* and taken it to represent the Cedi dynasty. "The origin of the Chedis is thus stated by Pargiter : Vidarbha of the Yādava clan had three sons named Bhīma Kratha,

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80. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 471, fn. 153; *DKA*. p. 51
81. *CHIN*, p. 112, fn. 1.
82. *JBORS*, IV, pp. 99-100.
83. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 82, n. 16; *CHIN*, p. 111.

Kaiśika, and Lomapada. Kaiśika's son Chidi founded the dynasty of Chaidya kings in Chedi[84]. From Chidi the name of the clan and that of the country became Chedi. The Buddhist books place Cheti between Malla and Vaṁśa indicating that the kingdom lay close to Kauśāmbī in Allahabad district, and it is very likely that modern Baghelkhaṇḍ was originally called Chedi."[85] The Royal sage Vasu, from whose line Khāravela is said to have descended, was evidently the famous epic king Vasu Caidyoparicara, "the overcomer of the Caidyas', and fourth in descent from Sudhanvan, son of Kuru.[86]

But the equation of Ceti with Cedi does not seem to be convincing, because the Sanskrit soft consonants do not become hard in Prākrit, which is the language of our inscription. It is only in the Apabhraṁśa that the soft *d* is changed into the hard *t*. Moreover, the Cedis are nowhere known as *Rājarṣis* in their tradition. This king Vasu of the inscription must have been some local king. Had Khāravela been a Cedi monarch, the Cedi era should have begun to mark his glorious conquests and achievements, rather than have commenced in the third century A.D. Hence, we are of the opinion that Khāravela belonged to some local clan called Ceta or Ceti of the Mahāmeghavāhana family.

7. कलिंगाधिपतिना (line 1)—The territorial extent of Kaliṅga has varied from time to time. Usually the term Kaliṅga is applied to the Telugu-speaking districts of Āndhra. The *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas associate

84. *AIHT*, p. 272.
85. *Ep. Ind.*, XX. p. 81.
86. cf. *AIHT*, p. 118; see also *IHQ*, XIV, p. 471, fn. 154.

it with the Mahiṣa country (Māhiṣmatī), the modern Maheśvara on the Narmadā river. This indicates that Utkala was included in Kaliṅga in Khāravela's time[87]. Aśoka's edict at Jaugaḍa shows that Ganjam district must have been the central portion of Kaliṅga. According to Prof. Jagan Nath, Kaliṅga also included the districts of Puri and Cuttack (Utkala) and possibly a portion of Vizagapatam district besides Ganjam in Kkāravela's time.[88]

8. कडार-सरीखता (line 2)—*Kaḍāra* means *piṅgala*, 'tawny'. The expression therefore means 'tawny-brown' or beautiful-coloured body.

9, लेख-रूप (line 2)—Barua translates the expression as 'writing, and Sircar as *lekha-vidyā*, 'art of writing', but we are inclined to accept Jayaswal's interpretation of the term *lekha* as 'royal correspondence'[89]. A *Lekha*-manual, called *Lekha-paddhati* written in the time of Cālukyas of Aṇhilapāṭana has been published from Baroda.[90] *Rūpa* also means 'coinage' or 'currency' and not mere 'drama' or 'acting'. Therefore the expression should be taken to mean 'royal correspondence and currency.'[89]

10. ववहार-विधि (line 2)—Jayaswal translates *vavahāra* as 'Civil Law' or 'Municipal law' as opposed to *vidhi*, 'Religious Law' mentioned as positive injunctions' in Sanskrit legal literature. Barua renders the two terms

87. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 81.
88. *CHIN*, p. 111, fn. 2.
89. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 81, notes 8,9; also see *JBORS*, III, pp. 481-82.
90. *GOS*, p. 58; quoted in foot-note 6, *Ep. Ind.*, XX. p. 81.

'by 'procedure' and 'approved principles of action' and refers to *OBI*, pp. 240 ff. Sircar renders the expression by *vivāda-mīmāṁsā-vidyāyāṁ pravartanā-nivartanātmaka-śāstreṣu* 'in treatises containing permissions and prohibitions in connection with *Mīmāṁsā* and *Vivāda* (disputes). We prefer Barua's interpretation; for in Sanskrit *vyavahāra* means 'a law suit' and *vidhi*, 'injunctions of the *Śāstras*'.

11. नव वसानि योवराजं पसासितं (line 2)——That is to say, Khāravela, after completing the 15th year of his age, administered the office of a *Yuvarāja*.

"According to Hindu Law, one attains age in the 16th year. Khāravela in his 16th year, i.e., when he comes of age, begins to rule from the office of Yuvarāja. It seems that the throne had been already vacant. This is further confirmed by the fact that his coronation had been waiting for the completion of the 24th year; as soon as that year was out, he was crowned.

"This last fact leads us to a point of Hindu polity which was not known before. It seems that in those days for obtaining royal *abhiṣeka* (there were other *abhiṣekas* also, e.g., that of Yuvarāja, Senāpati), the age of 25 was a condition precedent. This seems to explain why Aśoka was not crowned for three or four years after accession."[91]

12. वधमान-सेस- योवनाभिविजयो (line 2)——Jayaswal has split the expression into two parts : *vadhamānasesayo*, 'who had been prosperous since his infancy', and *venābhivijayo* 'who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Vena.'[92] Sircar takes it as a single compound meaning *Vena-tanayasya rājarṣeḥ Pṛthor iva yasya jayaśrīḥ*

91. *JBORS*, III, p. 438, Notes 26 and 27.
92. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 79, 86.

śiśoḥ kālāt pracīyamānā *'sīt'* [93] 'whose glory of conquests has ever been increasing since his childhood like that of the royal sage Pṛthu, the son of Vena.' In the first place, there is the difficulty of the change of Sanskrit *v* into Prakrit *y* (*śaiśavaḥ* into *sesayo*) and secondly how could there be any glory of conquests in Khāravela's childhood? In our opinion, Barua's reading [94] which we have accepted gives a better sense. It is rendered as "whose conquests during the rest of his manhood were on the increase." In his revised version, Jayaswal, too agreed with this reading, and translated the expression as, "who for the rest of his manhood made ever-increasing victories." [95]

13. ततिये कलिंग-राजवसे पुरिस-युगे (lines 2-3)——*Purisa-yuga* has precisely the sense of 'regular or unbroken linear succession' (vide, *Majjhima-nikāya*, II, p. 75). Jaysawal, however, translates the expression as 'in the state of manhod', having reference to the 25th year after the completion of the 24th when, according to the *Bṛhaspati-sūtra*, a prince is expected to take part in politics and affairs of the State. Before the 25th year, a prince is enjoined to engage himself in playing and learning sciences.[66] Again, according to Jayaswal, Khāravela "was born in the royal line of Cheti and was the overlord

93. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 219.

94. *IHQ*, *XIV*, pp. 462 and 473.

95. *JBORS*, IV, 1918, p. 372.

96. Cf., *Ep. Ind*-, XX, p. 86, fns. 3,4. In an earlier note, Jayaswal remarked that *pnrusa-yuga*, period of man's life-time' illustrated a technical rule of Hindu *abhiṣeka* that coronation was for one generation. The royal *abhiṣeka* used to be, in form, either for king-elect's life-time, for two generations (*dvi-puruṣa*) or hereditary (*JBORS*, III, p. 439 Note 29; 4 *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 3.7).

of Kaliṅga, but the dynasty to which he belonged was the third dynasty of the kings of Kaliṅga."[97] The Purāṇas state that "the (first) Kaliṅga dynasty came to an end a little before or in the time of Mahāpadma......[98] Again Kaliṅga became independent before the Mauryas, for Aśoka conquered them after a terrible battle and said that they had been free (*a-vijita*, RE. XIII). The dynasty dethroned by Aśoka must have been the second dynasty of Kaliṅga. Now, once more, under the Cheta dynasty, Kaliṅga re-asserted her independence in the last days of the Maurya rule. Thus the family founded by Khāravela's predecessors was the *third dynasty of Kaliṅga*."[99]. Barua agrees with Jayaswal's interpretation, and we too concur with them. Sircar, however, renders the expression by *Kaliṅga-rājanvayasya tṛtīye puruṣe*, 'in the third generation of the Kalinga royal family', taking *tṛtīye* as qualifying *puruṣa-yuge*. This does not seem plausible.

14. कंलिग-नगरि-खिबीरं (line 3) ...... The space left after *khibīra* in the inscription indicates that this sentence is separate and the next one is joined with it with the conjunction *ca* . Jayaswal and Banerji take *khibīra* with the following expression, and read *Khibīra-isi-tāla-taḍāga-pāḍiyo*, 'the embankments of the lake (called after) Khibīra Ṛṣi who excavated the tank or lake, or after whom it was named.[100] But it seems that Khibīra, instead of being the name of a person, was the name of

97. Vide ; *IHQ*, XIV, p. 473, fn. 161.

98. *JBORS*, I, sec. 22; Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 23

99. See fn. 94 above. Majumdar agrees with Sircar, *IA*, XLVIII, p. 188.

100. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 86, 83, Note 20. R. C. Panda takes *Khibīra* to mean 'springs' (*The Mayūrabhañja Gazette*, 1938, p. 16).

some locality, building or monument in the city of Kaliṅga.

Kaliṅga-nagarī was the capital of the Kaliṅga country which, according to Jayaswal, is most likely represented now by Kaliṅgāpaṭam in the Ganjam district; the ancient capital, which the current tradition says, was sawllowed up by the sea.[101] There is no hint in the inscription about the distance and direction of Kaliṅga-nagarī from the Udayagiri-khaṇḍagiri hill. It must have been situated somwhere in its neighbourhood. As no fortified town of comparable date is known to exist near about the hill, B. B. Lal has put forward the possibility of the ruins of Śiśupālagaṛh (fort) representing the site of Kaliṅga-nagarī, the capital. The excavations there have revealed a collapse and subsequent repair of the southern gateway flank of the fortification. Defence (fortification wall), too, did not come into being with the first occupation between c. 300 and 200 B.C.[102]

15. पनतिसाहि सत-सहसेहि (line 4) ... ... It represents the cost of thirtyfive hundred thousand (pieces of standard gold coins) on repairs of *khibīra*, restoration of the gardens and construction of the embankments of the tank or lake. Jayaswal has given an alternative explanation by taking the expression with the following sentence *pakatiyo ca raṁjayati*, i. e., by this much of expenditure, "(he) gratified the people."[103]

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101. *ibid.*, p. 83, Note 19.

102. *OHRJ*, III, No. 2, p. 95; *Ancient India*, V, pp. 66ff., 74

103. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 86. In foot-note 5, Jayaswal, however, justifies grammatically his previous explanation of the expression *panatisāhi sata-sahasehi* as referring to the number of Khāravela's subjects in *JBORS*, IV, p, 365. But we do not think this alternative explanation to be plausible.

16. असिक- नगरं (line 4) ...... Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji read *Musikanagaraṁ*. "The Musikas were a people of Southern India as, in the *Mahābhārata*, they are mentioned along with the Vanavāsas. The *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata (XIII. 27) couples them with the Tośalas and the Kośalas under the name Mośalas. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, the Mus'ka country comes with the *Strī-rājya*. According to the commentary *Jayamaṅgalā* on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the latter was a kingdom in the western part of the Vindhya country.[104] There is a river Musi which joins the Krishṇā about the Nalagoṇḍā and Krishṇā districts. It is mentioned under the same name in the inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda II of the Śaka year 692 (A.D. 770).[105] It is quite probable that the Musika city stood on this river."[106]

K. Sitaramaiya, on the other hand, identifies Musika-nagara with Māskī, in Raichur district, which is linguistically akin to Musika, and also satisfies all the statements in the inscription. Situated about 50 miles from Krishṇā Veṇī, it was a great city in historic times, and was once the capital of a viceroy of Aśoka who had one of his Minor Rock edicts inscribed there. As the whole country between Kaliṅga and Māskī was a part of the Sātavāhana domain, the capture of Māskī would have meant the capture of a large part of Sātakarṇi's kingdom.[107]

104. Under *Kāmasūtra*, II. 5. 27.

105. *Ep. Ind.* VI, pp. 209.

106. *Ibid*, XX, pp. 83-84, Note 24. Earlier, Jayaswal had written that the capital Musika stood on the united streams of Kanhan and the Wain in C. P. (*JBORS*, IV, p. 375).

107. *PIHC*, 1945, p. 53.

We, however, have accepted the latest reading *Asika-nagaraṁ* of Dr. Sircar, which denotes the Ṛṣīka country. The Ṛṣīkas are found mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (V. 81) : *Kambojā Ṛṣīkā ye ca paścimānūpakāś ca ye.* This makes them contiguous to the Anūpa country. Also compare *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 41.11) : *Vidarbhān Ṛṣīkāṁś caiva ramyān Māhiṣikān api.*[108] From our inscription, it seems that Asika (Ṛṣīka) country lay between the upper courses of Godāvarī and Krishṇā, to the south of Aśmaka. The city of the Asikas is here placed on the river Krishnā (Kaṇhabeṇā).

17. वितध-मकुट ········ (line 5) ····· Jayaswal reads *vitadha-makuṭa-sa- bilama-'ḍhite* (= *vitatha-makuṭa-sa-bilmar-dhite*), 'with their coronets rendered meaningless, with their helmets cut in twain.'[109]

18. रठिक-भोजके (line 6) ..... "Raṭhika-Bhojaka stand for the Maharaṭhis and Mahābhojas of the Sātavāhana inscriptions and the minor inscriptions of the same period at Kāṇherī, Kuḍā and Beḍsā. The Raṭhikas are mentioned as Risṭikas in the Girnār, Raṭhikas in the Shābhāzgaṛhī, and Raṭhakas in the Mānsehrā versions of the 5th edict of Aśoka ...... In the 13th edict, we find the Bhojaks mentioned with Pitinikas ...... [110] The word Raṭhika in the general sense of a local chief or a subordinate potentate, is used in the Yerraguḍi copy of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict.[111] The Raṭhikas were the neighbours of Sātakarṇi and lived in the Mahraṭṭā country in Berār.

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108. *Sel. Ins.* 2nd. ed., p. 205. fn. 5.
109. *JBORS*, IV, p. 376.
110. *Ep. Ind.*, XX. p. 84, Note 26.
111. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 476, fn. 169; *OBI*, p. 211.

19. छत-भिंगारे (lines 5-6) ...... The umbrella and the golden pitcher were the royal insignia. The golden pitcher (*bhṛṅgāra*) was used for anointing the king or for pouring water while making gifts. This is mentioned in the Buddhist canon. The king Bimbisāra holds a *bhṛṅgāra* while making the gift of Veluvana garden to the Order of the Buddha. (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, M. 1-22-18). In Bharhut, the scene of the donor Anāthapiṇḍaka making the gift of Jetavana to Buddha's *Saṁgha* and pouring water from a jug to complete the ceremonial is depicted. Palaeographically, the sculpture belongs to the same period as that of the Hāthīgumphā inscription, and therefore, the vessel in the hand of the donor fairly represents the *bhṛṅgāra* of those times (*JBORS*, IV, p. 97).

20. नंदराज-ति-वस-सतं ओघाटितं तनसुलिय-वाटा पणाडि (line 6)—Jayaswal observes that "king Nanda is mentioned in two places in this inscription, once in line 6, and again in line 12. The date in this line apparently refers to an era founded by king Nanda. His mention in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty."[112] Barua identifies Nandarāja with Aśoka, because, according to him, Aśoka was the first post-Buddha Indian king to have conquered the unconquered (*a-vijita*) Kaliṅga (RE, XIII).[113] Again, among

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112. *Ep. Ind.*, XX p. 84, Note 27.

113. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 476, fn. 170; *OBI*, p. 279. According to R. K. Mookerji, The Kaliṅga conquered by Mahāpadma Nanda "was only a small part of the country, its greater part towards the South remained unconquered (*a—vijita*) until, Aśoka's time in 262 B.C.

"Moreover, Aśoka conquered that part of Kaliṅga which was noted for its predominant forest population (*āṭavika*, RE. XIII)," the aboriginal area of Ganjam and other districts. (*Ancient India*, p. 204).

the Indian kings of pre-Christian era, he alone is known to have undertaken the construction of large irrigation works. It was his Viceroy Tuṣāspha who completed the large irrigation reservoir, Sudarśana, at Girnār in Saurāṣṭra begun by his grandfather's governor Puṣyagupta.[114] Barua, therefore does not attach much importance to the name Nanda occurring in a royal panegyric composed to flatter Khāravela. Agreeing with this view, K. C. Panigrahi says that "there is no evidence to show that the Nanda kings, of whom Mahāpadma Nanda was the most prominent, ever undertook the construction of irrigation works for the benefit of the subjects......... Aśoka would thus appear to be Nandarāja of Khāravela's inscription, who had constructed a canal in Kaliṅga and who had taken away the honoured seat of Jina from the same country as a war-trophy which was recovered by Khāravela."[115]

Against this view, it may be urged that it is inconceivable to believe that Aśoka's name and his association with the canal in Kaliṅga were not known to Khāravela and his ministers, when in much later times, his name was known to Rudradāman in connection with the Sudarśana lake. Besides this, emended reading *Aśokasya Mauryasya aṁte*, 'after the end (of the reign) of Aśoka' for *Aśokasya Mauryasya kṛte*, 'for the sake of i. e. on behalf of Maurya Aśoka' in line 8 of Rudradāman's Girnār Rock inscription takes away the credit of the construction of the embankment of the lake and its aqueducts from Aśoka.[116]

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114. *Vide EHI*, 4th ed., p. 139.
115. *JASBL*, XIX, p. 26.
116. *IC*, X, p. 87.

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ti-vasa-sata of this sentence has been differently interpreted by scholars. Bhagwanlal Indraji took *sata* as Sanskrit *sattra*, 'alms-house', and rendered the sentence as "He (Khāravela) opened the three-yearly alms-house of Nandarāja."[117] But this interpretation has since been rejected. Now the expression is taken to mean *tri-varṣa-śata*, about the sense of which the opinion is divided between 103 and 300. Fleet, Lüders, Konow, Jayaswal and Banerji are of the former view, while N. N. Ghosh, S. Chattopadhyaya, R. P. Chanda, Jagan Nath and D. C. Sircar hold the latter view. Barua and Ray Chaudhari are undecided between the two interpretations. Jayaswal once interpreted it as 300 years and, identifying Bahasatimita with Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, placed Khāravela and Puṣyamitra three hundred years after Nandarāja whom he identified with Nandavardhana. But Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga king whose dynasty had nothing to do with Kaliṅga.[118]

These interpretations of the expression have given rise to a great controversy about Khāravela's date, which will be discussed later.

Tanasuliya-vāṭā is interpreted by Jayaswal as 'from the road of Tanasulīya,' which he thinks to have been the name of the canal.[119] According to Barua, Tanasulīya road was no other than a road connecting the Tosalī of Aśoka with Kaliṅga-nagara of Khāravela.[120] Sircar gives *tṛṇa-sūrya* (?) as the corresponding Sanskrit

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117. *PIOI*, Leiden, 1884, Pt. III, p. 135.

118. *PHAI*, 6th ed., see 376-77; also see *IA*, XLVIII, 1919, p. 216.

119. *Ep Ind.*, XX, p. 87, and and fn. 6.

120. *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 476-77, fn. 171.

form of *Tanasuliya,* which gives no sense, and even as a proper name it seems queer. We consider Barua's interpretation to be more probable.

21. राजसेयं (line 6)——Jayaswal reads *rājasūyaṁ*, a sacrifice of that name, which is highly improbable; for, Khāravela was a devout Jaina. Therefore, his remark that Khāravela, "though a Jaina indulged not only in wide and continued conquests, but also celebrated victories with orthodox ancient sacrifices,"[121] loses its force and significance. Moreover, the participle *saṁdaṁsayaṁto*, 'displaying', does not go well with a sacrifice. The expression should therefore be interpreted as *rāja-śriyaṁ* as Dr. Sircar has done, and we have approved of it.

22. कर-वण-अनुगहं अनेकानि......पोर-जानपदं (lines 6–7)—— Dr. Jayaswal has rendered *kara-vaṇa* by 'tithes and taxes,' and Barua by 'taxes and duties.' Here, the word *vaṇa* (= Sanskrit *paṇa*) which means 'wealth, property', etc., is taken to signify some sort of a tax. Dr. Sircar had rendered the expeession by *sarvākāra-varṇānugrahānekāni,* and the whole sentence, according to his interpretation means : '(He) bestows numerous favours of all sorts and descriptions amounting to hundreds of thousands on the inhabitants of towns and country.' Here he points out that the word *varṇa* means 'description' as in line 6 of Nānāghāṭ Cave Inscription of Nagaṁnikā.[122] But to render *savakara* by *sarvākāra* with the second vowel lengthened seems hardly justifiable. We suggest that the first compound may be rendered as an adverb *sarva-kara-paṇānugrahaṁ* (*yathā syāt tathā*

121. *JBORS*, IV, p. 366.
122. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed...p. 215, and fn. 9.

utsṛjati), and the whole sentence may be rendered as '(He) bestows hundreds of thousands on the inhabitants of towns and country in a manner that there should be a favour (i. e., relief) with regard to all the tithes and taxes.'

23. पोर-जानपदं (line 7) —— 'Townsmen and country people.' Jayaswal's rendering of *pora* by 'City-Corporation' and *jānapada* by 'Realm-Corporation'[123] tantamounts to stretching the sense of the words too far.

24. वजिरधर ········ समतुक-पद [कु]म ····· (line 7) ——Barua reads *vajiraghara-khatiya-sata-ghaṭani samataka-pada-ṣaṁna saṁtipada*. According to him, *vajiraghara* means 'portable diamond chambers', *khatiya*, 'warriors', and *sata-ghaṭani*,' a compact group of hundreds of horses'; *Samataka*, 'the name of a hill', and *saṁti-pada*, 'a tranquil spot.' The whole expression, according to him, means, '(He caused) a compact group of hundreds of horses, (portable) diamond chambers, and warriors (to proceed) to the tranquil spot adjoining the fort of Samataka hill.'[124] Jayaswal reads *vajiragharavatī-ghusita ghariṇī sa matuka pada puṁna* ..... [*kumārā*] .. ', (his) famous wife of Vajiraghara obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood .....' . The readings being extremely doubtful, both these widely divergent interpretations are only conjectural, and therefore not dependable. Sircar has done well to leave the passage undeciphered. We too have left it so, and have not translated it.

25. गोरध-गिरिं घातापयिता (line 7-8)——Goradha-giri is the *Khalatika-pavata* or *Pravara-giri*, now known as

123. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 87, and fns. 9.10.

124. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 477, fn. 175. Barua here imagines that "perhaps, in his 7th regnal year, Khārāvela organized a pompous religious procession for visiting the holy spot on Mt. Samataka or Sameta (*mod.*, Pareshnāth hill), which may not at all be correct."

Barabar hill. The question arises, why did Khāravela attack the Pravara-giri which was never a political centre? The locality has neither known to have been visited by the Buddha and Mahāvīra, nor by kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. Dr. M. S. Pandeya assigns two probable reasons for Khāravela's attack on these hills. In the first place, the ruins of the images there show that the Ājīvika, the Buddhist and the Hindu religions flourished there at different periods, but there is no trace of Jainism. Possibly the Jaina saints were not allowed to enter and occupy the caves by the ascetics of the other faiths. Khāravela being a staunch Jaina, attacked the Gorathagiri and sacked it. Secondly, these hills were natural fortifications and possibly used as cantonement and garrison to check an invasiou from the south against Pāṭaliputra. Khāravela, therefore, thought it better to destroy the garrison.[125]

26. राजगहं उपपीडपयति (line 8) —— Rājagṛha was the ancient capital of Magadha. There is no mention of any ruler as resisting the attack of Khāravela on Rāja-gṛha. The only reason for Khāravela to attack Rājagṛha according to Dr. Pandeya, seems to be that he wanted to avenge himself by sacking the old capital of Magadha whose kings had several times ruined and pillaged Kaliṅga. The name of Pāṭaliputra, says Dr. Pandeya, was omitted either owing to the mistake of the scribe, because Khāravela possibly had no time to proceed against Pāṭaliputra, as the Yavanarāja was marching towards the east whom he drove back to Mathurā. Khāravela might have taken the road which went from Rājagṛha to Gayā and thence to Vārāṇasī.[126]

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125. *JBRS*, XLIX, pp. 26—27.
126. *ibid*, pp. 25—26.

27. संवित-सेन-वाहने (line 8)– —In Sanskrit, *saṁvīta* means 'demoralised army and transport.'[127] Barua reads *pabaṁta-sena-vāhane*, 'restlessly moving troops and vehicles.' *Pabaṁta* is taken as equivalent to Vedic *právat*, 'having swift or precipitate motion.' Accepting Jayaswal's reading, we have translated the expression as 'elephant-troops and cavalry rendered ineffective.'

28. यवनराज [डिमित ?] (line 8) —— Barua reads *Yavanarāja ? mi ? (ā) mo dati*, which does not give any sense. The reading after *Yavanarāja* is very doubtful. Konow, Jayaswal and Sircar read Ḍimita or Dimita which again is very uncertain. Dr. Sircar says, "Even if the reading be correct, this Ḍimita cannot be identified with Demetrios, son of Euthedemos, who lived in the first half of the 2nd century B. C."[128] The fact remains, however, that the Yavanas had penetrated deep into this country. Here, of course, there is a lacuna in our knowledge.

29. · · · · यछति · · · · पलव · · · · · · कप-रुखे · · · · · · ज [य]-परिहारं ददाति (lines 8-9) —— Jayaswal reads after *saha,-yaṁte sava-gharāvāsa-pari-vesane agiṇaṭhiye . . . bramhaṇānaṁ jatipaṁtiṁ parihāraṁ dadāti*, '(He) gives · · · · with foliage Kalpa (wish-fulfilling) trees, horses, elephants, chariots with their dirvers (*saha yaṁte*), houses, residences, and rest-houses. And to make all these acceptable, (he) gives at a fire-sacrifice (?) exemption (from taxes) to the caste of Brāhmaṇas.' Barua read . . . . . *gachati palava-bhara-kaparukha* . . . . . . *saha yaṁta sava-*

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127. cf. *Amarakośa*, II. 8 43 : *Vītam tu a-sāraṁ hasty-aśvaṁ*, 'elephant-troops and cavalry rendered ineffective. See also *JBORS*, XIV, p. 150.

128. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 216, fn. 5.

gharāvāsa-pa ? ? ? ? ya savagahanaṁ braṁhaṇānaṁ ja [*ya*] - *parihāra* [*ṁ*] *dadāti*, 'marched back with *Kalpa-vṛkṣa*, the wishing tree, burdened with foliage, and the troops of horses, elephants and chariots, (did something for) all householders, and to captivate all, (he) offered the gift of victory to the Brāhmaṇas." Sircar reads *yati*, 'ascetie', for *yaṁta* or *yaṁte*, as an epithet of Khāravela, and we have followed him.

30. दंड-संधी—सा [ममयो] (?) भरधवस-पठानं मही-जयनं · · · · · कारापयति (line 10) ——Barua reads *daḍa-ni* (?) *dhīta* (*bhisa*)-*mayo Bharadhavasa-pa? nan? hi? yanaṁ* . . . *kārāpayati*, 'well-read and experienced in the principles of policy, (His Majesty) proceeded on a campaign for the conquest of the country in Bhāratavarṣa.'

31. पुव-राज-निवेसितं पोथुंडं गदभ-नंगलेन कासयति (line 11) ——Barua reads *puva-rāja-nivesitaṁ pithuḍagadabha nagale nekāsayati*, 'caused the grassy growth of Pṛthūdaka, founded by a former king, to be let out into the Laṅgala (river),' or the river Nāgāvalī bearing the name of Laṅgūliā,[129] and objects to Dr. Sircar's reading by saying "Why should king Khāravela plough Pīthuṇḍa, founded by Kaliṅga kings, with an ass-plough?" Jayaswal reads *Āva-rāja* for *puva-rāja*, and understands that the market-town (?) Pithuṇḍa was founded by Āva kings.[130] Khāravela caused it to be ploughed down with ass-

129. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 479, fn. 188; *QBI*, pp. 196ff.

130. According to Jayaswal, it probably means the Āva king or king of Āva. There was an ancient Tamil race Āya, and a kingdom called Avamukta to the north of Kāñchī in the time of Samudragupta, and a people spelt as Avarni and Aruarni below or by the Kitsnā is an Āva dynasty (xii.2.29) which the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (iv.24.13) equates with Āndhra. This agrees with Ptolemy. The Āvas were in the Āndhra country at the time (*JBORS*, XIV, p.150)

ploughs, i. e., to be utterly destroyed.[131] Pithuṇḍa, according to Jayaswal, is derived from *pṛthu-aṇḍa*, 'the big egg', probably so called because of the physical features of the situation of the city resembling a large egg. It may be identical with Pitundra mentioned by Ptolemy as situated in the upper part of the Coromandel coast near Masulipaṭam. Barua considers *Āva-rāja* (the king of Āvas or Āndhras) to be a forced reading of Jayaswal.

32. त्रमिर-देष-संघातं (line 11)——Barua reads *tamara-daha* (?) *-saṁghātaṁ*, 'accumulation of dark swamp'; Jayswal reads *T* [*r*] *amira-deṣa-saṁghātaṁ*, 'confederacy of the Tramira (Dramira) countries,'[132] which seems to a better sense and has been adopted by us.

33. हथसंगंगाय पाययति (line 12) ---- 'causes his elephants and horses to drink from (the waters of) Gaṅgā.' Jayaswal reads *hathi Sugaṁgīya*[*ṁ*] *payayati*, 'drives his elephants into the Sugaṁgīya (palace),' adding a note that 'Sugāṅga palace' is mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act III) as the palace of Chandragupta Maurya. This must have been near or on the river Gaṅgā. Khāra-vela's entry by means of elephants implies that it was

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131. Jayaswal draws our attention to the Jaina works, Hari-bhadra's *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti* (pp. 685-87) and Hemachandra's *Vīra-carita* (pp. 170-71) in which it is stated that Koṇika ploughed Vaiṣālī with ploughs drawn by asses (*JBORS*. XIII, p. 231 n.1).

132. In his revised version of line 11, Jayaswal reads ...*maṇḍe ca puvarāja-nivesita pithuḍaga-dalabha-naṁgale nekāsayati janapada-bhāvanaṁ ca terasa-vasa-sata-ketubhada-tita-'mara-saṁghātaṁ*, 'In the eleventh year, he has led out in procession, on the covered seat, made by the previous king, of thick and high wheels and timbers, in *tikta* (*nīma*) wood, of Ketubhadra who flourished thirteen centuries back.' *JBORS*, III pp. 457,465; IV, p. 463. This version involves tortuous interpretation and has been rejected.

a fortified place.[133] But Barua's and Sircar's reading seems to be better.

34. वहसतिमितं (line 12) —— Jayaswal has identified Bahasatimita (Bṛhaspatimitra) with Puṣyamitra Śuṅga on the ground that Bṛhaspati or Jīva is the Regent (*nakṣatrādhipa*) of the constellation Puṣya.[134] This interpretation is, no doubt, ingenious but, at the same, far-fetched and fantastic. The name Bahasatimita or Bṛhaspatimitra occurs in inscriptions[135] and on coins[136] of Northern India. The king Bahasatimita of Magadha remains unidentified. "Bahasatimita of the Pabhosā inscriptions," according to N. N. Ghosh, was probably a local king of Kauśāmbī, whose maternal uncle Āṣāḍhasena excavated the cave in the 10th year of the reign of Uḍāka whom Jayaswal restores to Odraka, the fifth Śuṅga king.[137] How can this Bahasatimita then be the same person as the first śuṅga king Puṣyamitra?"[138] The name Bṛhatsvātimitra occurs on an inscribed brick at Morā near Mathurā, commemorating the erection of a temple by his daughter Yaśamitā.[139] As both the Pabhosā Bahasatimita and the Morā Bṛhatsvātimitra acknowledged the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas, they are considered not only to be identical themselves, but also identical with those mentioned on the coins.[140] S. Chattopadhyaya considers Uḍāka

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133. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. and fn. 8.
134. *SG*, I. 26.6; *OBI*, p. 274.
135. Pabhosā inscription of the reign of Uḍāka (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 241).
136. *CCAI*, p. xcvi and p. 150; *JNSI*, IV, p. 143.
137. *Coins of the Indian Museum*, p. 185.
138. *PIHC.*, 1948, p. 59.
139. *JRAS*, 1912 ,p. 120
140. For the identification of the Morā Bṛhatsvātimitra with Bahasatimitra of coins, see *ibid*, p. 120.

F._6

to have been evidently a local king of the Kosam region and infers that for some time at least Bahasatimita was a subordinate ruler who later on became independent as the evidence of his coins and the Hāthīgumphā inscription shows.[141] His coins may have been carried to Kosam by traders which would explain their discovery from that site. K. C. Panigrahi, on the other hand, would like to identify Bahasatimita with Bṛhaspati mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna* as the son of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka.[142] The suffix *mitra*, he says, is not the monopoly of the Śuṅgas. Tradition has preserved the name in its abbreviated form of Bṛhaspati. The Buddhist tradition, though solitary, should be taken as more reliable. Puṣyamitra styled himself only as *Senāpati* and never a king. This shows that there must have been a king of Magadha of Mauryan extraction whom Puṣyamitra had set up as a titular king in the Magadha throne after murdering Bṛhadratha. Therefore, according to Panigrahi, it seems most probable that Bṛhaspati of *Divyāvadāna* was the king of Magadha when Khāravela attacked Magadha.[143] M. S. Pandeya thinks that Bahasatimita was probably a local ruler under the Śuṅgas, or perhaps an independent ruler belonging to the Śuṅga family who stayed there even after the royal house had moved to Vidiśā. He also does not rule out the probability of his being a remote ancestor of a king Visākhamitra who ruled in about A.D. 186 and who is mentioned in a record of the Mitra dynasty recently discovered by Dr. Sircar in the Bakhtiarpur Police Station area of the Patna dis-

141. *EHNI*, p. 30.
142. *JASBL*, XIX, p. 27; *CHIR*, p. 461,
143. *JASBL*, XIX, p. 28.

trict.[144] Ray Chaudhari says that on epigraphical evidence, it appears that Magadha was ruled over by Mitras in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era.[145] References to Balamitra and Bhānumitra among the successors of Puṣyamitra in Jaina literature also indicate the presence of Mitra rule. Barua's list of Mitra kings includes the names of Bṛhatsvātimitra, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, Bṛhaspatimitra, Dharmamitra and Viṣṇumitra, of whom only Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, and possibly Bṛhaspatimitra, are definitely associated with Magadha in addition to other territories. The rest are associated with Kauśāmbī and Mathurā. Their relationship with the Śuṅgas and Kaṇvas is not known.[146]

Barua also regards Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra as the two immediate predecessors of Bṛhaspatimitra who was the weaker rival and contemporary of Khāravela.[147]

35. नंदराज-नीतं च कलिंग-जिन-संनिवेस···(line 12)——Jayaswal reads after *ca*, *Kaliṁga-jinaṁ saṁnivesa* · · · · ; and the last word he supposes to have been *saṁnivesayati*, 'sets up an image,' because, he finds 'image' as one of the meanings of the word *saṁniveśa* in dictionaries. He thinks that Khāravela set up an image called *Kaliṁga-jina*, which had been carried away by Nandarāja.[148] But, in our opinion, *saṁnivesa* should be taken as a noun to mean 'seat' which was brought by Khāravela along with the wealth of Aṁga and Magadha,[149] as is indicated

144, *JBRS*, XLIX, p. 27; G.D. College Bulletin No. 4.
145. *PHAI*, 6th ed., p. 401.
146. *OHRJ*, III, No. 2, pp. 86-89.
147. *Gaya and Bodh Gaya*, I, 1934, p. 74.
148. *Ep, Ind.*, XX, pp. 80 and 88, fn, 9.
149. *JASBL*, XIX, 1953, p. 25.

by the conjunction *ca* after *-nītaṁ* and repeated after *-vasuṁ.* We do no agree with with Barua who reads *Naṁdarāja-jita-Kaliṁga-jana-saṁnivesaṁ*, "The settlement of the Kaliṅga people subjugated by king Nanda."

36. · · · अंग-मगध-वसुं च नयति (line 12) —— Jayasal reads [*gaha*]*-rata* [*nā*]*na*[*ṁ*] *paḍihārehi*, 'along with the keepers of the family jewels of · · · · '; and Barua reads *kitavanaya-nipuṇehi*, 'with the aid of presons skilled in clever tactics,' in the lacuna before the expression *Aṁga-* etc. But there being a sharp difference between the readings of the above two scholars, the restorations seem to be fanciful, and therefore extremely doubtful. Sircar has done well in leaving the lacuna unread.

37. अंग-मगध-वसुं (line 12) —— "The mention of these two provinces indicates that the campaign of the 12th year was specially directed against South Bihar which now includes the ancient province of Aṅga (Bhāgalpur Monghyr districts) and Magadha (Patnā, Gayā and part of Hazāribāgh districts,"[150]

38. जठर-लखिल-[गोपु] राणि (line 13) —— Sircar renders this expression by *dṛḍha-sundara-toraṇa-samanvitāni*, 'furnished with strong and beautiful arched gateways.' Jayaswal reads *jaṭhara-likhila-barāni siharāni*, 'excellent towers with carved interiors, taking *jaṭhara* to mean 'interior' and *likhila* 'carved'. Barua takes *jaṭhara* in the sense of 'niches' and *lakhila* in the sense of 'with figures of the goddess of Luck' (in their niches).[151]

39. सत-विसिकनं (line 13)——Barua reads *parihārena*, and renders the expression by 'at the cost of a hundred *viśās* (of gold).' According to him "the *viśā* is a measure

150. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 85, n. 40.
151. *ibid*, pp. 80, 88; *IHQ*, XIV, p. 480.

of which two varieties, viz., Kaṭaki and Bālasoree, are prevalent in Ori sa up till now.[152] "Jayaswal reads *sata-visikanaṁ [pa] rihārehi* with the preceding *nivesayati* and taking *viṣika* in the sense of 'architect' (*vaiśmika*), and *parihāra* in the sense of 'exemption from land revenue,' translates the expression as 'creates a settlement (*nivesayati*) of a hundred masons, giving them exemption from land revenue'. Of all these, Sircar's rendering is preferable which we have adopted.

40. अभुतमछरियं च हथी-निवा[सं]परिहर ······ (line 13) ——Sircar renders *hathi-nivāsa* by *hasti-vastra-sajjāṁ*, 'ornamental cloth for covering the back of the elephant.' It may have been brocade woven with gold and silver threads. Barua reads *hathi-nāva* (*taṁ*) and remarks that *nāvata* or *navata* means 'trappings of elephants'.[153] Jayaswal reads *hathi-nivā [sa] parisaraṁ*, equating *nivāsa* with *nirvāsa*, referring to 'elephant preserves or some original form of *kheḍā*-arrangement,' and taking *parisara* to mean 'enclosure' or 'stockade', translates the passage as 'a wonderful and marvellous enclosure or stockade for driving in the elephants.' [154] But the word which he has read as *parisaraṁ* is evidently *pariharati*. Previously, the same passage had been read by him as *hathīnāvana-paripuraṁ*,[155] 'a full cargo of elephant-ships', which Khāravela caused to be brought from the Pāṇḍya king as a present. Quoting from McCrindle's translation of *Arrian*, he presumed that there had been a sea-borne trade in elephants between Ceylon and Kaliṅga, at

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152. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 480, fn. 193.
153. *ibid.*, fn. 194.
154 *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 80, 85, n. 42, and p. 88, fn. 10.
155. *JBORS*, IV, pp. 387, 401.

least 150 years before Khāravela.[156] Later on, he revised the reading as given above.

41. सुपवत-विजय-चके (line 14)——According to Jayaswal, *vijaya-cakra*, 'wheel of conquest' was a term common to Buddhism and Jainism. That Vardhamāna Mahāvīra preached Jainism in Kalinga is attested to by the tradition contained in Jaina literature. Barua has rendered the expression as 'in the well organised realm of victory'. In our opinion, *supravṛtta* here means 'well-concluded, well-accomplished,' and the expression should be translated as 'when the cycle of his conquests had been successfully accomplished.'[157]

42. कुमारी-पवते (line 14)——The same as Kumāraparvata referred to in the epigraph of Uddyotakesarī, i. e., the modern Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri.

43. परवीन-संसितेहि (line 14)——Some render it by *prakṣīṇa-saṁśṛtaiḥ*, 'whose passage through successive states of existence, i. e., transmigration, has come to an end.' But we agree with Sircar who renders it by *prakṣīṇa-saṁśritebhyaḥ* (=*prakṣīṇāśrayebhyaḥ*), 'to those who have no shelter or refuge' which seems appropriate here.

44. काय-निसीदियाय (line 14)——Barua reads *kayya* (=*kāya* or *kalya*), Pali *kalla*(*tuṭṭha*); *kāya-nisīdī*, therefore, is synonymous with *tuṭṭhāyatanāni* of Aśoka. Barua translates it as 'comfortable resting places,' Jayaswal as 'Relic

156. *ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

157. For Jayaswal, vide *JBORS*, XIII, p. 233; for our interpretation, vide *Nirukta-bhāṣya-ṭīkā*, with commentary of Skandasvāmin on *Nirukta*, I. 9, p. 77, edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, and also see Dr. Sarup's English translation of *Nirukta*, riprint 1962, p. 12, where *pravṛtte 'rthe* is translated as 'the sense being complete.'

Memorials' with a note that "the Jainas raised symbolical graves of saints called *niṣīdī* or *nisidhi*."[158] According to Sircar, the expression is equivalent to *kāya-niṣadyāyai*, 'for giving rest to the body' (during rains, *varṣāsu viśrāma-lābhāya*). *Niṣadyā* means 'a small bed or couch.' In Delhi-Topra Pillar Edict VII, there occurs the word *niṁsidhayā* which has been taken to mean 'rest-houses', though Sircar thinks that the word represents *niḥślisṭākaḥ* (=*sopānāni*),[159] i. e., 'descents of steps' (to the wells). But this sense does not fit in here with *kāya*.

45. यापूजावकेहि (line 14) —— Barua equates it with *yāpa-udyāpakaiḥ*, Sircar, with. *yāpodyāpakebhyaḥ*, 'for those who are to bring their *yāpa* (i. e., rainy season vow) to a conclusion.' Jayaswal reads *yāpa-ñāvakehi* (= *yāpa-jñāpakaiḥ*)[160] i, e., 'by teachers of preachers of *yāpa* or certain Jaina texts on *yāpa*'. In the *Bhadrabāhu-carita*, *yāpa-saṁgha* is the name of a particular Jaina sect. *Yāpa*, according to Caraka, means 'mitigating pain', or according to the *Mahābhārata*, 'supporting life.' Dr. Sircar's interpretation seems to be in conformity with the context.

46. राज-भितिनि (line 14) —— Barua considers it to be a mistake for *rāja-bhitinaṁ* (*rāja-bhṛtināṁ*), 'those who depend on royal patronage.' Jayaswal renders it as 'royal maintenaces' (*rāja-bhṛtīḥ*). We have accepted Sircar's correction of this and the following two words to the genitive ending *-nāṁ*.

47. चिन-वतानि (line 14) —— Sircar connects this compound with Pali *cinna-vatānaṁ* (*cīrṇa-vratānām*), 'of

158. *Ep Ind.,* XX, p. 89, fn. 6.

159. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 65, line 15.

160. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 80, p. 89 and fn. 5; p. 85, Note 45 and fn. 5.

those who have practised the vows,' which seems plausible. Jayaswal, however, renders it by *cīrṇavastrāṇi* or *cīna-vastrāṇi*, 'China clothes', the latter, he thinks, gives more reasonable meaning. In our opinion, *vatāni* can hardly be philologically equated with *vastrāṇi*.

48. वासासितानि (line 14) —— Barua rightly considers this also to be a mistake for *vāsāsitānaṁ* (*varṣāśritānām*), 'of those who have taken shelter from rain.' Jayaswal renders it by 'white clothes', and remarks that 'it would be the earliest reference to the *white* clothes, later on connected with the Śvetāmbara sect.'[161]

49. जीव-देह-[सयि] का (line 14) —— Sircar equates it with *jīva-dehāśrayikāḥ* (= *āśraya-guhāḥ*), 'shelters for human body'. Jayaswal reads *jīvadeha-[siri]kā*, "(the nature of) *jīva* and *deha*, i. e., 'soul and body' which relate to the Jaina philosophy wherein the topic is very prominent."[162]

50. सकत- समण सुविहितानं (line 15) —— Jayaswal takes the whole expression as one compound, reading *sukata* (= *sukṛta*) for *sakata* and rendering the passage as 'the monks of good deeds and who have fully followed (the injunction).' Barua translates the whole compund as 'for the honoured recluses of well-established reputation.' But Sircar's rendering seems to be more acceptable. He takes *sakata-samana* (=*satkṛta-śramaṇaḥ*),'one who honours the Jaina monks' as an epithet of Khāravela. *Suvihitānaṁ*, according to him qualifies *saṁghiyanaṁ*, i. e., the members of the Order 'who have followed their vows effectually.'

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161. *ibid.*, p. 89 and fns. 2,3.

162. *ibid.*, fn. 7; also see Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, Ch. VII.

51. तपसि-इ[सि]नं (line 15) —— Barua reads it (*sama*)-*pasi*(*nam*), 'viewing all things alike'. But in that case, the correct form should have been *sama-dasinaṁ*. Barua's reading, therefore, is not acceptable.

52. संघियनं (line 15) —— Barua renders it by 'belonging to (different) orders.' Jayaswal reads *saṁghaya-naṁ* and renders it by '(bringing about) a Council', taking the word in the sense of 'assemblage.'[163] On this, Barua remarks, "I think the reference is not intended to say that Khāravela brought together the Śramaṇas and wise ascetics in a Council convened for the purpose."[164] But *saṁghiyanaṁ* evidently means 'of those belonging to the *Saṁgha* or the Buddhist Order.'

53. मु [खि]य-कल-वोछिनं च चोय[ठि]-अंग संतिकं तुरियं उपादयति (line 16) —— Barua reads (*ma*)*khiya-kala-vochine ca coyaṭha-aṁge satikaṁ turiyaṁ upādayati*, 'in sixty-four panels, intersected with sculptures, caused to be produced (the scenes of) peaceful music.' This appears to be a laboured interpretation. The expression *makhiya-kala* has ingeniously been taken to mean 'sculpture', deriving it from the obscure *makha* or *maṅkha*, 'a picture in a frame,' and taking *aṁge* to mean 'panels.' Jayaswal reads *Muriya-kāla-vochinaṁ ca coyath*(*i*) *aṁga-satika*(*ṁ*) *turiyaṁ upādayati*, '(he) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (text) of the sevenfold *Aṁgas* of the sixtyfour (letters).' It is interesting to note that in this Jayaswal has omitted to translate *Muriya-kāla-vochinaṁ*. He remarks that according to Jaina tradition, the *Aṁgas*, eleven in number, were discovered after their loss.' Jaina canon,

163. *ibid.*, p. 89 and fn. 8.
164. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 481, fn. 207.

F. 7

according to Jaina authors, is covered by 64 letters.[165] We have, however, followed Sircar who explains the sentence as *Mukhya-kalāvacchinnaṁ* (*gītanṛtyādi-samanvitaṁ*) *śāntikaṁ tauryaṁ* (*raṇa-rahita- kālopayogi taurya-trikam*), 'the peaceful triple symphony created by sixty-four kinds of musical instuments and consisting of song, dance and instrumental music.'

54. राजसि-वसू-कुल-विनिश्रितो (line 17) —— Barua reads *rajasi-vasa-kula* which involves tautology of *vaṁśa* and *kula*, and therefore his reading seems doubtful and unacceptable. The word *vasa* has been read as *vasū* by Dr. Sircar. It should be taken as a proper noun equivalent to Vasu. Some scholars have identified him with king Vasu of Cedi who is known to the Purāṇas[166] and the *Mahābhārata* (I. 63), and also figures in the list of the Cedis (ch. VII) of the Jaina *Harivaṁśa*.[167] According to them, the inscription thus confirms the Purāṇic genealogy. Since the equation of *Ceti-rāja-va(ṁ)sa* with the royal house of the Cedis is questionable,[168] nothing definitely can be asserted except that Vasu may have been some local king belonging to the Ceti clan of the Mahāmeghavāhanas, as stated above.

Translation

Obeisance to Arhats! Obeisance to all the Siddhas!

By the illustrious *Mahārāja* Khāravela, the Aira, the paramount sovereign king of Kaliṅga, the scion of

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165. See *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 2·1; *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 469-70 and fn. 212, and *Ep. Ind.*, XX, pp. 80, 89 and fn. 11, respectively for the explanations of Sircar, Barua and Jayaswal.

166. *JRAS*, 1910, p. 22.

167. *JBORS*, XV, p. 277; *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 86, Note 51.

168. See No. 6 under the Notes *supra*.

the Mahāmeghavāhana family, the promotor of the royal house of Ceti, —— who bears excellent auspicious marks, who is endowed with virtues ransacked from (all) the four quarters, and has a handsome figure of fair-brown complexion —— were played for fifteen years the sports befitting the young age for a prince. Thereafter, for nine years, the office of *Yuvarāja* (heir-apparent) was administered by him who was well-versed in royal correspondence, currency, accounting, legal procedure, and in injunctions of the *Śāstras*, who had a lucid intellect due to his proficiency in all sciences. Then, having completed twenty-four years, he, whose conquests during the rest of his manhood were on the increase, obtained royal consecration as *Mahārāja* in the linear succession in the third royal dynasty of Kaliṅga. As soon as he was anointed, in the very first year, he caused repairs to be done to Khibīra in the city of Kaliṅga in which the gateways, the ramparts and the residential houses had been damaged by storms; and had the embankments of the cool tank built, and (also) caused the restoration of all the gardens at a cost of thirty-five hundred thousand (pieces of the standard gold coins), and thereby pleased his subjects.

And in the second year, not caring a whit for Sātakarṇi, he ordered a battalion composed of numerous horses, elephants, foot-soldiers and chariots to march in the western direction, and struck terror into the city of Ṛṣika with (his) army that had reached (the bank of) Krishṇabeṇā. Again, in the third year, he, who was proficient in the science of music, regaled the capital city with the display of wrestling combats, dances, songs and instrumental music, and by holding festivals and convivial gatherings. Likewise, in the fourth year, he

(reclaimed ?) the home of the Vidhyādharas founded by the former kings of Kaliṅga, which was never invaded before, (and) compelled all the Raṭhikas and Bhojakas, who were deprived of their wealth and jewels, whose (royal insignia) umbrellas and (golden) anointing pitchers were knocked down, ... , whose crowns were reduced to nought, to bow down at his feet. And then, in the fifth year, he caused the canal, opened out by king Nanda three hundred years ago, to be brought into the capital through the Tanasulīya road . . . . And in the sixth year after his anointment, he, ostensibly showing the prosperity of his kingdom, bestowed (unprecedented) favours on the inhabitants of towns and countryside by remitting all taxes and duties amounting to many hundred thousand (pieces of standard gold coins). And while he was reigning for the seventh year, ... And in the eighth year, having battered down with a large army (the fortress of) Gorathagiri of invulnerable rampart, (he) besieged Rājagṛha. And (scared) by the tumult of his formidable action, the Yavana king Ḍimita (?) fled to Mathurā to release the ineffective troops and vehicles . . . . . . gives . . . . . . foliage . . . the Kalpa-tree, the self-restrained (king Khāravela) (returned ?) with his horses, elephants and chariots . . . . all residential houses . . . . in order to capture (the hearts of) all, he offered the gifts of victory to the Brāhmaṇas . . . . the Arhat . . . . . . And in the ninth year, ... he caused the palace (called) *Mahavijaya-prāsāda*, to be built at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (pieces of standard gold coins). And in the tenth year, he, well-versed in the policies of (making) war, treaties and peace, ... an earth-conquering expedition to be led to Bhāratavarṣa . . . . . . And in the eleventh year, ...

he acquired the jewels and treasures of the fleeing (foes) . . . . . . (and) caused Pīthuṇḍa, founded by a former king, to be ploughed with an ass-plough, and broke up the confederacy of the Tramira (Tamil) countries that had grown in a hundred and thirteen years, and had become a cause of anxiety (? *bhāvanaṁ*) to the country. And in the twelfth year, with thousasnds of . . . . . . , he caused consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha and, inspiring great fear in (the minds of) the people of Magadha, made his elephants and horses drink from (the river) Gaṅgā, and compelled Bṛhaspatimitra, the king of Magadha, to bow down to his feet; and brought with him the seat of (the lord) Jina belonging to Kalinga, which had been carried away by king Nanda, along with the wealth of Aṅga and Magadha . . . . . . He built Śikhara-style temples with strong and beautiful ornamented gateways at the cost of twenty hundred (i. e., 2,000 pieces of standard gold coins). He procured (*pratiharati*) rare and wonderful brocade (*nivāsa*) for the elephants; . . . . . . horses, elephants, treasures and jewels; and caused to be brought here from the Pāṇḍya king pearls, diamonds, treasures in hundreds of thousands . . . . . . subjugated the residents (?) . . . . . And in the thirteenth year, when his conquests had successfully terminated, were excavated caves on the Kumārī hill by the illustrious *Upāsaka* Khāravela, devoted to the service of those who were dependent on the king, those who had fulfilled their vows, and those who sought shelter during the rains, for use as resting places for the body, for the Arhats who were without shelter and who were there for completing their vow of rainy season (*yāpa*) . . . . . . For the wise sages practising penance and belonging to the Order

(*Saṁgha*) and of well-established reputation, coming from all directions, he, who had honoured the monks . . . . . . with stone-slabs dug out of excellent quarries and brought from many *yojanas* . . . . on a slope near the resting place of the Arhats . . . . and raised on level spots of ground (*catvare*) pillars inlaid with beryl at the cost of hundred and five thousand (gold coins), and set up a serene orchestra (*taurya*) consisting of sixty-four musical instruments and distinguished for the excellence of its art.

The king of serenity, the prosperous (or aged) king, the monk king, the righteous king was the illustrious king Khāravela, capable of perceiving, hearing and experiencing things conducive to welfare, the mighty conqueror born of the family of the royal sage Vasu, accomplished by virtue of special qualities, possessing universal power, the protector of the realm, of invincible dominions, transport and troops, the repairer of all abodes of the gods, and the respecter of all sects.

Khāravela's Personality

There suddenly appears like a meteor in the Kaliṅga country, a very powerful king, named Khāravela, whose biography has come to light from an inscription on the brow of Hāthīgumphā cave on the Udayagiri hill in Orissa. He is depicted as a handsome boy of fair-brown complexion who engaged himself in juvenile games and sports, and attained proficiency in state correspondence, currency, accounts, judicial procedure and scriptural injunctions up to the age of fifteen. Thereafter, he took part in the affairis of the government in the capacity of a Yuvarāja for nine years. He was anointed as king (*Mahārāja*) at the age of 24. The very first

thing he did was to pay attention to the fortification and rehabilitation of his capital by carrying out repairs to the dilapidated city-gates and ramparts, by restoration of its gardens and by building embankments of its tanks. He proved himself true to the maxim *rājā prakṛti-rañjanāt* by spending large amounts of money on the welfare and happiness of his subjects and even remitting taxes to give relief to them. Having thus endeared himself to his people, he set out on campaigns of conquest in which he displayed his inherent qualities of courage and valour and military strategy. In the wars he waged and the battles he fought, he proved himself to be a great warrior and capable General. At first, he led a campaign against Sātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the West, and spread panic in the city of Asika on the river Krishṇā. He celebrated his victory in his capital by entertaining the citizens with wrestling bouts, dances, vocal and instrumental music, and by holding public gatherings and festivals. Thereafter, he subdued the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojakas in the Marāthā country and Berār. Of his other campaigns, one was the siege of Rājagṛha, another against Bhāratavarṣa, next the breaking of an old Tamil confederacy, subsequently the sacking of Magadha and subjugation of its king Bṛhaspatimitra, and finally, receiving rich tribute from a Pāṇḍya king.

Not only was Khāravela a veteran General, but was also a great builder. He built magnificent palaces, imposing temples with lofty *Śikharas*, rock-cut caves with pillars inlaid with beryl, shelters for sages with stones brought from far off excellent quarries, public buildings and irrigation canals and reservoirs. For all these he employed the cleverest artisans and architects.

At the same time, Khāravela was a lover of fine arts and a great connoisseur of music; for, he set up a serene orchestra consisting of sixty-four musical instruments and distinguished for its excellent art.

Khāravela was not a despot, but an ideal king according to the definition in Hindu polity. Although himself a follower of Jainism, he held all other sects in great esteem, and got repairs done to the places of their worship without distinction. There is no evidence of religious persecution during his reign and all his subjects appear to have practised religious toleration and freedom of worship. It is therefore evident that Khāravela was indeed a very great and popular monarch. Unfortunately, no account of his life and career is found recorded in literature.

Date of Khāravela

According to Pt. Bhagwanlal Indraji, the Hāthīgumphā inscription was engraved in the 13th year of the reign of Khāravela which corresponded to the 166th of the Maurya era, counted from the conquest of Kaliṅga by Aśoka in 225 B. C. He placed the accession of Khāravela in 103 B. C.[169] Fleet denied the occurrence of the Maurya-kāla in the inscription. Lüders took the expression *ti-vasa-sata* to mean 103 years from the date of the first Nanda king in 332 B. C. He, therefore, fixed (332-103=219+5) 224 B. C. as the date of Khāravela's accession. Relying on the identity of Bahasatimita with Puṣyamitra, suggested ingeniously by Jayaswal, and on Khāravela's contemporaneity with the Greek king Demetrios, R. D. Banerji placed Khāravela in the first half of the second century B. C.[170].

169. *ASCIO*, Pt. III, sec. II, pp. 152-77.

170. Also see *JBORS*, III, pp. 495ff.

Since the expression *Muriya-kāla* has been read as *mukhiya-kalā* (=*mukhya-kalā*), 'principal art',[171] the Maurya era theory has been abandoned. The sentence immediately before this expression has been taken to end with the expression *pānatarīya-sata-sahasehi* (which Bhagwanlal Indraji had read as *paṁnatarīya-saṭhi-vasa-sate* and translated it as 'in the 165th year').

As no date, except the regnal years of Khāravela, is mentioned in the record, we have to rely on whatever internal and circumstantial evidences are available for fixing his time.

1. In line 4,a large army is said to have been sent by Khāravela against Sātakarṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty in the West. The name Sātakarṇi also occurs on the Nānāghāṭ[172] and Sāñchī epigraphs. According to Bühler, all the three Sātakarṇis were one and the same monarch and identical with Sātakarṇis I of the Purāṇas. But Rapson considers the Sātakarṇi of Sāñchi record to be one of the later Sātakarṇis of the Purāṇic lists.[173] K. Gopalachari also holds the same view and suggests that "he is one of the numerous Sātakarṇis in the Purāṇic list after No. 6."[174] Bühler, from his study of seven Nānāghāṭ inscriptions, concluded that the queen Nāyanikā (Nāganikā) was the daughter of Mahāraṭhi Tranakāyiro, and the wife of Sātakarṇi, son of Simuka Sātavāhana. But G. V. Rao considers the assumption of Sātakarṇi being the son of Simuka as gratuitous and against the testimony of the Purāṇas which definitely state Kṛṣṇa to be the

171. *Sel Ins.*, 2nd ed. p. 218 and p. 221.
172. *ASWI*, V, p. 64; Lüders' *List*, No. 1114.
173. *CIC*. p. xxiv.
174. *EHAC*, p. 29, fn. 10.

father of Sātakarṇi. Sircar, on the other hand, does not preclude the possibility of both Kṛṣṇa and Sātakarṇi being the sons of Simuka.[175]

In Dr. Rao's opinion, the Sātakarṇi of the Nānāghāṭ record was the performer of innumerable sacrifices which could only have been done during a long reign. He, therefore, identifies this Sātakarṇi with the Sātakarṇi II of the Purāṇas whose reign extended for 56 years, and not with Sātakarṇi I who ruled only for 12 or 18 years when the empire was still in the process of formation. Further, he identifies the Hāthīgumphā Sātakarni with this very second Sātakarni on the ground that Khāravela could not have referred to a Sātakarni of lesser fame and power when he took credit for disregarding him.[176] But this argument can equally be applied in favour of his identification with Sātakarni I; for, it is far easier to disregard a less powerful monarch than a more mighty one.

Jayaswal is of the view that the Hāthīgumphā Sātakarṇi was Śri Sātakarṇi, the husband of Nāyanikā, and the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, mentioned in the Nānāghāṭ inscription.[177] According to Dr. Sircar, Śātakarṇi of Hāthīgumphā "seems to be the Śātakarṇi who ruled shortly after the husband of Nāganikā according to the Purāṇas. Palaeographically, the Hāthīgumphā record is slightly later than the Nānāghāṭ record. It may be pointed out that the letters of the Sāñchī inscription of Sātakarṇi resemble the script of the present record and may belong to Sātak rṇi II. Of course, if

175. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 197, fn. 1.
176. *PIHC*, 1949, pp. 62-65.
177. *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 83, Note 22.

this slight development is overlooked, we may identify both Sātakarṇis with Sātakarṇi I."[178]

All that the inscription says about Sātkarṇi is that his kingdom was on the western border of the Kaliṅga and that it included the city of the Asika which, according to the Nāsik Cave inscription of the 19th regnal year of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi, was included in the dominions of the Sātavāhanas. Accepting Jayaswal's reading of Musika instead of Asika, and equating it with the modern Māskī, K. Sitaramaiya observes that "it must have been a coveted city, and Khāravela might have thought that its capture would be the capture of a large part of Sātakarṇi's kingdom, because the whole country between Kaliṅga and Māskī was part of Sātavāhana domain."[179] According to him, the word *acitayitā* and *vitāsitaṁ* are significant, for Khāravela first did not think of provoking Sātakarṇi for a war, and sent his army against the territory only to frighten him. But subsequently, he thought about it and did not proceed further since he wanted his help in his expedition against Magadha.[180] Within a few years, Sātakarṇi is seen helping his Magadha campaign.[181]

Along with Rapson and Smith, Sitaramaiya, too, identifies the Sātakarṇi of Hāthīgumpha inscription with Sātkarṇi I, the husband of Nāganikā.

Relying on Purāṇic chronology, S. Chattopadhyaya says that "the Kaṇva rule came to an end in *c.* 30 B. C. which would consequently be a date during the reign of

178. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 215, fn. 1; also *AIU*, p. 213.
179. *PIHC*, 1945, pp. 53-54.
180. *ibid.*, pp. 53-54.
181. *TOC*, III, p. 174.

Śimuka, and thus Sātakarṇi would rule at the end of the first century B. C. or the beginning of first century A. D.,"[182] and identifies him with Sātakarṇi I, the third monarch of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

Prof. Amar Chand has also, on Purāṇic evidence, calculated 30 B. C. to be the date of the overthrow of Suśarman, the last Kaṇva king, by Simuka, the first Sātavāhana monarch. Allowing 18 years (10 according to some) for Kṛṣṇa, his successor, he arrives at 12 B.C. as the date of Sātakarṇi, and accordingly, Khāravela acceded to the throne in *c.* 12+2=14 B. C.[183]

From the various views given above, it becomes obvious that Sātakarṇi of Khāravela's record is identical with either Sātavāhana king Sātakarṇi I or II. But the majority of scholars are in favour of his identification with Sātakarṇi I of the Purāṇas, and assigning him to the last quarter of the first century B. C.

2. The next monarch mentioned in the inscription is Bahasatimita of Magadha, discussion on whose identity has already been made in our note 27 *supra*. Irrespective of whether he was the Mitra king, or the Maurya titular king placed by the Śuṅgas on the throne of Magadha, he, too, cannot be considered to be earlier than the last quarter of the first century B. C.

3. The third king is Nandarāja who is said to have inaugurated the excavation of a canal in Kaliṅga *ti-vasa-sata* before the time of Khāravela. Lúders' interpretation that Khāravela in the 5th year of his reign conducted into the city an aquaduct that had not been

182. *EHNI*, p. 27 and fn. 21.
183. *OHRJ*, III, No. 2, p. 36.

used for 103 years since the time of king Nanda, is not correct; for in that case, if 322 B. C. be taken as the end of the Nanda dynasty, the 5th year of Khāravela would fall in (322—103=) 219 B. C., and his accession in 223 B. C.[184] Such a remote date is precluded by palaeographical considerations. The expression *ti-vasa-sata* being the part of a compound, can be taken to mean 103 or 300 years. Now, R. D. Banerji thinks that the canal might have been excavated by the first Nanda king 103 years before the 5th year of Khāravela's reign. He counts the era from 458 B. C. and puts the excavation of the canal at (458—103=) 355 B. C., at least 33 years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. He takes 103 to be a date within the rule of Nanda dynasty and not as an interval between Nandarāja and Khāravela. This date he reckons from some pre-existing era; but the use of such an era is not known in any part of the country. According to Dr. Sircar, *ti-vasa-sata* means 300 years, and Jayaswal, too, at one time, had taken it in the same sense, placing Khāravela and Puṣyamitra 300 years after Nandarāja whom he identified with Nandavardhana or Nandivardhana. But Nandivardhana was a king of the Śiśunāga dynasty which had nothing to do with Kaliṅga. Therefore, Nandarāja may be identified with Mahāpadma Nanda who is described in the Purāṇas as a second Paraśurāma or Bhārgava, as the exterminator of all the Kṣatriyas and as the sole sovereign (*eka-rāṭ*) who brought the whole earth under one umbrella (*eka-cchatra*). His eight sons reigned for only 12 years. Hence, he could not have reigned beyond 334 B. C., i.e. 12 years before 322 B. C., the date of accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Without taking the round figure of 300

184. *EHI*, 3rd ed., p. 2, fn, 2 as quoted in *IA*, XLVIII, p. 215.

too literally, and considering the contemporaneity of Khāravela with Sātakarṇi, Khāravela's accession may be fixed in about 25 B.C., at the age of 24. Therefore his birth can be placed in (25+24=) 49 B.C., and *yauvarājya* at (49—16=) 33 B.C., i.e., in the latter part of the first century B.C.[185]

4. In line 8, the name of the Yavanarāja has been read as Dimita (by Konow) and Ḍimita (by Barua), who, owing to the tumult of Khāravela's army, is said to have retreated to Mathurā in order to release his armoured troops and vehicles. In the first place, the reading of the name is very doubtful. Secondly, "even if the reading be correct, this Ḍimita," says Sircar, "cannot be identified with Demetrios, son of Euthedemos, who lived in the first half of the 2nd century B. C."[186]

As regards circumstantial evidence, the palaeography of this inscription is considered by epigraphists to be later than the Nānāghāṭ records and certainly than the Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar inscription of Heliodorus.[187] Moreover, the ornamental prose style of the record, which is rhythmic and abounds in alliterations, elegant expressions and balanced sentences, is also an indication of a later date. According to Sir John Marshall, the sculptures on Mañchapuri cave, bearing the inscription of Khāravela's queen, are considerably later and more advanced than the work at Bharhut in point of depth of relief and plastic treatment of figures. N. N. Ghosh puts the inscribed gateway of Bharhut, a century later than Puṣyamitra's time, i. e., about the beginning of the first

185. *OHRJ*, III, No. 2, p. 92.
186. *Sel. Ins.*, 2nd ed., p. 216, fn. 5.
187. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 460.

century B.C. Khāravela, therefore, would have-flourished half a century later, and cannot be pushed back to the second century B. C.

According to Dr. Sircar, the combination *bra* in *Bramhaṇānaṁ* in line 9 of the inscription is not much expected in East Indian records of the 2nd century B. C., nor the expression *abhutamachariyaṁ* (line 13) is expected in very early Prākrit records.[188] And the title *mahārāja,* which appears for the first time on Indo-Greek coins in the first half of the 2nd century B. C., also supports the suggestions of assigning Khāravela to the first century B. C.[189]

From the above discussion of different views, it is clear that overwhelming opinion is in favour of assigning the latter half of first century B. C. to the reign of Khāravela.

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188. *Sel. Ins*, 2nd ed. p. 216, fn. 8, and p. 217, fn. 9.
189. *ibid.*, p. 214, fn. 3.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. *AIHT*—Pargiter : *Ancient Indian Historical Tardition.*

2. *Br.—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*

3. *AIU—Age of Imperial Unity*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan publication.

4. *ASCIO—Actes du Siseme Congres International des Orientalists.*

5. *ASWI*—Archaeological Survey of Western Circle.

6. *CCAI—Catalogue of Indian Coins—Ancient India* by J. Allen, 1936.

7. *CHIN—Comprehensive History of India*, edited by Nilakanta Sastri.

8. *CHIR—Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, edited by E. J. Rapson.

9. *CIC—Catalogue of Indian Coins*, Andhras, Western Ksatrapas, etc., edited by E. J. Rapson.

9a. *DKA—Dynasties of the Kali Age* by Pargiter.

10. *EHAC—Early History of Andhra Country* by K. Gopalachari.

11. *EH1—Eariy History of India* by V. A. Smith.

12. *EHNI—Early History of Northern India* by S. Chattopadhyaya.

13. *Ep. Ind.*—Epigraphia Indica.

14. *GOS*—Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda.

15. *HP—Hindu Polity* by K. P. Jayaswal.

16. *IA*—Indian Antiquary.

17. *IC*—Indian Culture, Calcutta.

18. *IHQ*—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

19. *JASBL*—Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters, Calcutta.

20. *JBORS*—Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

21. *JBRS*—Journal of Bihar Research Society, Patna.

22. *JNSI*—Journal of Numismatic Society of India

23. *JOIB*—Journal of the Oriental Institute, M.S. University, Baroda.

24. *JRAS*—Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland.

25. *MASB*—Memoirs of the (Royal) Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

26. *OBI*—*Old Brahmi Inscriptions* by B. M. Barua.

27. *OHRJ*—Orissa Historical Research Journal.

28. *PHAI*—*Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed., by H. Ray Chaudhuri.

29. *PIOC*—Proceedings of International Oriental Congress, Leiden, 1884.

30. *Sel Ins.*—*Select Inscriptions*, 2nd ed. by D.C. Sircar, Calcutta.

31. *SG*—*Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*.

32 *TOC*—Transactions of Oriental Congress.

MEASUREMENT OF ACHIEVEMENT IN LANGUAGES (SANSKRIT-MARATHI; SANSKRIT-KANNADA)

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1. *Introduction*

The study of languages forms an important part of a School curriculum. In a multilingual country like ours, the number of languages to be studied at the School Stage has been subjected to an endless debate. The Central Advisory Board of Education has evolved a three language formula. The education-commission (1964-66) has also favoured the same formula with slight modifications. The national policy statement on education issued by the Govt. of India in 1968, reiterates the urgent need of vigorously implementing the three language formula which includes (i) mother tongue or regional language,(ii) English and(iii) Hindi in Non-Hindi speaking States. In Hindi Speaking States, it includes (i) mother tongue (i.e. Hindi),(ii) English and (iii) one of the modern Indian languages—preferably a Southern language. Obviously there is no mention of *Sanskrit* in this formula. However the national policy rightly envisages the study of Sanskrit which is conducive to the growth and development of Indian languages besides stressing the uinque contribution of Sanskrit to the cultural unity of the country. In view of this importance of Sanskrit, facilities for its teaching at the school and

University level should be provided on a liberal scale. Although we have to meet the demands of a modern science-oriented society, we have to keep up what is best in our ancient tradition and culture. In maintaining a proper balance, it is believed that the humanities in San krit will prove helpful. Furthermore, the study of Sanskrit will help a student to learn thoroughly his mother-tongue—be it one belonging to the Indo Aryan group or the Dravidian group. Sanskrit is the mother of the former group, and it has influenced considerably the languages and literatures of the Dravidians. Today the regional languages have sprung into prominence, and they have been gradually accepted as the media of instruction and of examination at the university level and in Public Service Commissions, besides becoming the languages of administration in their respective States.

At this crucial juncture when every language is required to enrich itself from all sources including the perennial source of Sanskrit, it is a pity that the study of Sanskrit is gradually receding to the background. Some states like Maharashtra wherein Sanskrit was studied compulsorily at the School stage till recently has made it an optional subject, following perhaps the policy adopted by other states. It is needless to say that if facilities and proper encouragement are not given for the study of Sanskrit at the school stage, it will not be taught at the higher stage at all.

How far the study of Sanskrit is helpful to the growth of mother-tongue needs to be investigated on a modern technique, viz. a statistical study. And such an attempt is made by the author of this paper. Statistical study has become a part of modern educational research as it has been in other fields. The statistical methods

have been applied to throw light on the problems and different aspects of education in general, and learning, teaching, evaluation processes in particular. "Statistical theory has been concerned with measuring the amount of information and the strength of inference obtainable from observation".[1] These methods are tied to observation which again leads to scientific inferences; and if they are properly used, they reveal interesting results.

2. *Nature and scope of investigation*

In this paper an attempt is made to investigate the 'achievements in 'Sanskrit' of students who have offered Marathi as their mother-tongue and also of those who have offered Kannada as their mother-tongue. They are the students of Class X in the two high schools in their respective regions. The study is based on the statistical analysis of performance in the Class X final examination, with a view to find out the correlation between Sanskrit and Marathi as well as Sanskrit and Kannada. A similar study was made by the author of this paper with regard to the achievement in Sanskrit and Hindi and Sanskrit and Telugu. The results of the study revealed that there was +·71 correlation between Sanskrit and Hindi and +·82 correlation between Sanskrit and Telugu.[2] These revealing results lead us to further investigate the correlation between Sanskrit and other Indian languages. A thorough and scientific study based on the statistical analysis of the performance of students in school final examination of Board of secondary

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1. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, p. 13971.

2. R. N. Aralikatti, "Language achievement of High School pupils"—(In Sanskrit – Hindi & Telugu)—*Progress of Education*, Poona, Sept. 1967.

examination, West Bengal, was made by Dr. A.K. Gayen and others[3], under the research project initiated by the Ministry of Education, Govt. of India and N.C.E. R.T., New-Delhi. The two reports—one on the "Measurement of achievements in some Indian languages-Sanskrit, Hindi and Bengali and the other on Measurement of achievement in English by Dr. Gayen and others—have been published by the N. C. E. R. T. These have been welcomed by all those that are interested in the teaching and evaluation of languages in the School curriculum.

This subject by its very nature offers ample scope for continuous investigation and research. The author of the present article is interested in the study and investigation of language achievements of high school pupils with a view to find out the correlation between Sanskrit and modern Indian languages belonging to Indo-Aryan Group and also Indo-Dravidian group and analyse its implications particularly with reference to the bearing of Sanskrit study on that of other Indian languages. There have been a number of such studies in other countries too, investigating the achievements of languages like Latin and Greek with English, and English and French by applying the formula of 'rank-difference method'[4]. The format of the present paper follows the broad pattern suggested by J. B. Best.[5] The statistical

3. "Measurement of achievement of some Indian languages —Sanskrit, Bengali, & Hindi"—by Dr. A. K. Gayen of others, N. C. E. R. T, New Delhi, 1965.

4. Kharagapur—R. S. Woodwerth & Dr. M rquis Methuen & Co., pp. 48 & 60.

5. G. B. Best, "Research in Education" New Delhi, 1963, pp. 233-34.

data is analysed on the model by Green.[6] The present study is intended to test the hypothesis whether the students who are good at Sanskrit are also good at Marathi and correspondingly those that are good at Sanskrit are equally well up in Kannada. The hypothesis seems to be that there is no significant correlationship between the achievements of the pupils of class X in Sanskrit-Marathi and Sanskrit-Kannada.

3. The Subjects and the Sample :—

The subjects involved in the study were the pupils of class X offering Sanskrit and Marathi as compulsory subjects and studying in a High School in Maharashtra. A representative sample of 30 students, representing the different social and economic strata of the society was drawn. The second group which belonged to a Sanskrit High School in Mysore State, studied Sanskrit and Kannada for a compulsory paper of 100 marks each.

4. Method and Analysis of data

The marks secured by each pupil in Sanskrit and Marathi in the class X annual examination and of the same class public examination in Sanskrit and Kannada were ranked in order. The data so collected was tested statistically by the use of 'p' rank difference method of correlation. The rank difference measure of correlation is a quick and convevient way of estimating the correlation when the number is small or when we have ranks. Even with the large numbers the rank is useful for exploratory purposes. The pupils in the tables shown here are ranked in order of merit as decided by the examination marks obtained in the Class X.

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6. Garret, *Statistics in Psychology & Education*, Indian edn. pp. 370-75.

Each individual pupil has two ranks numbers, indicating his standing in the two tests. The difference between the two ranks of each individual in two subjects is found out and denoted by 'D'. D is squared in each individual case. The sum of these squares is found and the following formula is used:

$$p = \frac{1-6 \Sigma D}{n\,(n_2 - 1)}$$

Here 'n' is the number of the individual, p=is the rank difference measure of correlation. 'D' is the difference of two scores of the two tests. If the two individuals are tied for the same place, say for example A and B have the same score, in stead of ranking them as 5th and 6th, they are ranked 5.5 If +3 individuals are tied for the same place, say for example 4,5 and 6, then all of them are ranked as 5. In the present study there were 5 such instances in each statistical table which follows.

Table I—Sanskrit—Marathi

Computation of 'P' by rank difference

Test in Sanskrit			Test in Marathi.			
Individual	Raw Score	Rank	Raw Score	Rank	Diff.	D^2
A	35	21	44	18	3	9
B	12	31	29	31	0	0
C	40	15.5	50	10	5.5	30.25
D	30	24	43	20	4	16

Test in Sanskrit			Test in Marathi			
Individual	Raw Score	Rank	Raw Score	Rank	Diff.	D^2
E	54	6	51	8	2	4
F	21	27.5	31	30	2.5	6.25
G	38	17.5	39	26.5	9	81
H	30	24	39	26.5	2.5	6.25
I	40	15.5	40	25	9.5	90.25
J	35	21	41	23.5	2.5	6.25
K	47	10	48	11	1	1
L	42	13.5	47	12	1.5	2.25
M	16	30	42	21.5	8.5	72.25
N	42	13.5	55	3	10.5	110.25
O	49	7.5	54	4.5	3	9
P	45	12	42	21.5	9.5	90.25
Q	30	24	44	18	6	36
R	8	1	66	1	0	0
S	57	3	51	8	5	25
T	38	17.5	46	14	3.5	12.25
U	36	19	44	18	1	1

Test in Sanskrit			Test in Marathi			
Irdividual	Raw Score	Rank	Raw Score	Rank	Diff.	D^2
V	35	21	46	14	7	49
W	58	2	58	2	0	0
X	55	5	53	6	1	1
Y	48	9	51	8	1	1
Z	21	27.5	35	28.5	1	1
A_1	28	26	41	23.5	2.5	6.25
A_2	56	8	54	4.5	3.5	12.25
A_3	49	7.5	41	24	16.5	272.25
A_4	18	29	35	28.5	0.5	0.25
A_5	46	11	46	14	3	9
n=31						$\Sigma D^2 = 961$

$$p = \frac{1 - 6\Sigma D^2}{n-(n^2-1)} \quad \text{where} \quad n=31,\ n^2=961,\ 6\Sigma D^2 = 5766$$

$$= \frac{1-5766}{31\ (961-1)}$$

$$= \frac{1-5766}{31\ (960)}$$

$$= 1 - 0.19$$

$$= +0.81$$

$$\therefore p = 0.81$$

Table II—Sanskrit-Kannada

Computation of p by rank-difference Method

Test in Sanskrit			Test in Kannada			
Individual	Raw Score	Rank No.	Raw Score	Rank	Diff.	D^2
1	73	7.5	65	3	4.5	20.25
2	40	28	50	25.5	2.5	6.25
3	60	15	54	17	2	4
4	45	23.5	47	29	5.5	30.25
5	52	22	57	12.5	9.5	90.25
6	58	16	51	24	8	64
7	69	11	54	17	6	36
8	37	29	52	22	7	49
9	74	6	69	1	5	25
10	75	5	67	2	3	9
11	62	14	62	4	10	100
12	66	13	59	7.5	5.5	30.25
13	53	20	58	10	10	100
14	82	3	61	5.5	2.5	6.25

Test in Sanskrit			Test in Kannada			
Individual	Raw Score	Rank No.	Raw Score	Rank	Diff.	D^2
15	30	30	52	22	8	64
16	74	4	61	5.5	1.5	2.25
17	53	20	48	28	8	64
18	54	18	44	30	12	144
19	73	7·5	58	10	2.5	6.25
20	72	9	52	22	13	169
21	55	17	50	25.5	8.5	72.25
22	89	2	58	10	8	64
23	70	10	55	15	5	25
24	45	23.5	57	12.5	11	121
25	42	25.5	53	19.5	6	36
26	42	25.5	53	19.5	6	36
27	41	27	56	14	13	169
28	53	20	49	27	7	49
29	67	12	54	17	5	25
30	93	1	59	7.5	6.5	42.25
n=30						$\Sigma D^2 = 1625$

$$p = \frac{1-6\sum D^2}{n(n^2-1)} \quad \text{where} \quad \frac{n=30}{n^2=900}$$

$$= \frac{1-9750}{30\,(900-1)} \qquad \sum D^2 = 1625$$
$$\therefore 6\sum D^2 = 9750$$

$$= \frac{1-9750}{30(899)}$$

$$=(1-0.30)$$

$$=+0{\cdot}70$$

$$\therefore p = 0{\cdot}70$$

5. *Results*

From the foregoing analysis, as shown in tables I and II, we arrive at two interesting results. The correlation between Sanskrit and Marathi is as high as +·81 and the correlation between Sanskrit and Kannada is +·70 The latter correlation between Sanskrit is also high although not as high as that between Sanskrit and Marathi. This means that positive and significant correlation exists between the achievements in the languages. To put it particularly, the pupils who are good in Sanskrit are good in Marathi as well as in Kannada. And hence the pupils who study Sanskrit, are likely to be quite good at their mother-tongues (Marathi or Kannada as the case may be). The sample that is used in the study bears out this conclusion.

6. *Summary*

The relationship between the achievements of pupils in Sanskrit and Marathi, Sanskrit and Kannada, was investigated. Two groups of 31 and 30 pupils each of class X were utilised as subjects. The data was ana-

lysed by using "rank-difference measure" correlation technique. It was concluded that the pupils, who are good in Sanskrit are also proficient in Marathi or Kannada, as the case may be. In a sample such as the one used for the study, the majority of subjects, were good in Sanskrit and relatively in Marathi and Kannada too.

7. *Conclusion*

More such investigations to study the measurement of language-achievements of pupils in Sanskrit and other Indian languages, based on the statistical analysis of their performances, are bound to yield interesting results. The study of a language like Sanskrit is most likely to profit the study and achievements of pupils in their regional languages. One would naturally expect the study and development of Sanskrit in North-India where the languages, belonging as they do to the Indo-Aryan family, and literatures, betray an unmistakable Sanskrit influence. On the other hand the languages in Southern region, belonging to the Indo-Dravidian family, will also be greatly benefitted by the study of Sanskrit particularly in building a pan-Indian vocabulary and pan-Indian culture. It is desirable that in language-planning and in implementing any language formula, one might bear this in mind while evolving a national system of education.

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PĀṆINI 5,2,28—29

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0. *Introduction*

P ā ṇ i n i has listed numerous secondary derivative suffixes (taddhita-s) in the fourth[1] and fifth books of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in approximately 1112 rules. The taddhita suffixes are postposed generally to the nuclei consisting predominantly of nouns already made, that is to say, the secondary formations are derivable from nouns made by means of the taddhita suffixes. A small number of suffixes are, however, appended directly to the prefixes. We take here into consideration three such suffixes—*śālaC*, *śaṅkaṭaC* and *kaṭaC*.

1. *viśāla- and other taddhita stems: their formation*

P. teaches that the bound forms *-śāla-* and *-śaṅkaṭa-* are suffixed to the nucleus *vi-*, when the meaning remains unaltered (*veḥ śālac.śaṅkaṭac.au*, *A.*5,2,28). He also teaches in the next rule (*A.*5,2,29: *saṁ.pra.ud.aś ca kaṭac*) that the bound morpheme *-kaṭa-* is suffixed to the nucleur constituents *sam-*, *pra-*, *ud-*, and *vi-* (*vi-* recurring from the rule 5,2,28). Accordingly, we obtain the secondary stems (*prātipadika-s*) : *viśāla-*, *viśaṅkaṭa-* 'great, large' (*A.*5,2,28), *saṁkaṭa-* 'brought together', *prakaṭa-* 'clear', *utkaṭa-* 'gigantic' and *vikaṭa-* 'hideous' (29). The secondary polymorphemic constructions in *-śāla-*,*-śaṅkaṭa-* and

1. *taddhitāḥ* (*A.* 4.1,76) : All suffixes taught from the rule 76 (Book IV) to the end of Book V are termed *taddhita-s.*

-kaṭa- appear normally as adjectives in three genders. The prātipadika-s (nonclosed stems) *viśāla-* and the rest are bimorphemic insofar as they contain a prefixal element and a bound suffix. A peripheral declensional affix (in the masculine, feminine or neuter) will actually close the morphological construction. Since *viśālaḥ-* (*vi*+*śāla*+ḥ) contains three morphemes, i.e. a prefix plus a bound suffix plus a declensional suffix, the structure may be treated as polymorphemic.[2] The stems *viśāla-*, *viśaṅkaṭa-* and *vikaṭa-* are listed in the group of words beginning with *bahu* (*bahvādi gaṇa*)[3], and their feminine is formed by adding *ṬāP* (=*ā*) which P. formulates in the rule : *ajādy ataṣ ṭāp* (*A.* 4,1,4) or by the affix ṄīṢ (=*ī* in the rule : *bahv ādibhyaś ca, A.* 4,1,45).

2. *viśāla- and other stems as oxytones*

The three suffixes, enumerated here, contain the exponent (anubandha) /*C*/ which P. has designed specifically to fix the end-acute accent (*antodātta*) of the derivatives in conformity with the two accentual rules : *citaḥ* (*A.* 6,1,163) and *taddhitasya* (*A.* 6,1,164). Concomitantly, *viśāla-* and other stems should be described as oxytonic words in P.'s accentual system.

3. *Commentators on A.5,2,28*

Following the interpretation of P a t a ñ j a l i on the rule 28 that *śālaC* and *śaṅkaṭaC* are suffixed to *vi-* in the sense of *sādhana.kriyā* (i.e. means of accomplishment of action) and, thus, possess the *svārtha* (one's own sense),

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2. For this structure, see Eugene A. Nida, *Morphology*, 97-8 (Ann Arbor, 1957).

3. See *Gaṇapāṭha* CVIII, *Pāṇini's acht Bücher grammatischer Regeln* von Otto Böhtlingk, Bd. II (Bonn, 1840).

J a y ā d i t y a (*Kāśikā*, Ed. S. Misra, Banaras, 1952, p. 397) writes

> sādhana.kriyā.vacanād upasargāt svārthe pratyayau bhavataḥ/ vigate śṛṅge viśāle, viśaṅkaṭe/ tad.yogāt gaur api viśālo, viśaṅkaṭa ity ucyate/

to which he strikes a personal note :

> paramārthatas tu guṇa.śabdā ete yathākathañcid vyutpādyante, na atra prakṛti,pratyayārthayor abhiniveśaḥ /

He thinks that, in reality, *viśālaḥ* and *viśaṅkaṭaḥ* are adjectival constructions which are derivable somehow or other; but there is no connection here between the nucleus and the bound form, as far as the meaning is concerned. K a i y a ṭ a in his *Pradīpa* glosses too in a similar tone (*PMB*, Ed. B. Joshi, Bombay, 1942, Vol. IV p. 316) :

> guṇa.śabdās tu viśālādayaḥ/ sādhutva.anvākhyānāya tu kañcid upāyam āśritya vyutpattiḥ kriyate/

The *Tattvabodhinī* commentary *ad SK* 1830 (ed. by Caturvedi-Bhaskara, Varanasi, 1960, Vol. II.p.472) regards these words as purely conventional, which might be analysed into their components in some way or the other; . . . *rūḍha.śabdās ca ete kathañcid vyutpādyante/*

4. *Structural analysis*

P. maintains the position of a structuralist when he analyses synchronically *viśāla-* as consisting of a preposed constituent *vi-* and a postposed taddhita suffix *śāla* (*C*). The morphemic segmentation, thus, appears after the *prādi*-s (*pra-* and the rest) in each of the derivative stems, as represented in the following frame :

{vi–} + /–śāla, – śaṅkaṭa/ (*A*.5,2,28)
{–vi–, sam-, pra-, ud-} + /-kaṭa/ (*A*.5,2,29),

where *vi-* and other *prādi*-s are enclosed between braces, while *-kaṭa-* and other bound morphemes are enclosed between diagonals only to distinguish the nucleus from the bound forms. We may now conveniently arrange the taddhita stems, following the structural procedure set up by some linguists that stems whose communis precede their propria are written in a row (1), and those whose propria precede their communis are written in a column (A), in the following table :

TABLE 1

	A	*B*	*C*
1	*vi/kaṭa-*	*vi/śāla-*	*vi|śaṅkaṭa-*
2	*saṁ|kaṭa-*	...	...
3	*pra|kaṭa-*	...	...
4	*ut|kaṭa-*	...	...

The procedure of modern linguists that "the common part of the two forms will bear their *communis*, the reminder of each its *propria*"[4] may be compared to Pat.'s use of the terms *anvaya* and *vyatireka* in his scholarly commentary on the rule : *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ* (*A*. 1,3,1). The former term may be rendered as continuance or continuous presence, and the latter as discontinuance or continuous absence. The *anvaya* of the two forms *pac-ati* and *paṭh-ati*, according to Pat., is the suffix (pratyaya) - *ati*.

4. Rulon S. Wells, "Automatic Alternation," *Language* 25 (1949) 99-116; also J. H. Greenberg, *Essays in Linguistics*, 23 (Chicago, 1958).

He mentions in this connection that when *pac-ati* is uttered, the root element heard is *pac-* which has the palatal stop consonant *-c-* in its final position. The meaning understood by *pacati* would be "the softening through boiling (*viklittiḥ*), agenthood (*kartṛtvam*) and singularity (*ekatvam*)".

Subsequently when *paṭhati* is pronounced, a portion of the form (*pac-* in *pacati*) disappears (that is to say, *paṭh-* replaces *pac-*), and the remaining portion (*-ati*) continues to be identical in both forms. The additive morpheme *-ati*, therefore, may be said to stand for the communis, while the propria is represented by *pac-* and *paṭh-* in the forms *pacati* and *paṭhati* respectively. As shown in the Table (above), in row 1, *vi-* is the communis which precedes the propria, while in column A |*-kaṭa*| is the communis which follows the propria.

5. *Patañjali on A.5,2,28*

Pat., in his commentary on the rule 28, raises the question of finding out the meaning of the nuclei *vi* and other *prādi*-s, when the suffixation of *śālaC* and the rest of bound morphemes has taken place. His explanation of the rule 28 would be that when *vi-* refers to an object qualified by the action (i. e. *vigatārtha*), *śālaC* and *śaṅkaṭaC* are suffixed to the *prādi*-s. I now give an *ad verbatim* translation of the *Mahābhaṣyam* on *A.* 5,2,28, which follows :

"What is the meaning assigned to (the suffixes) *śālaC* and the rest (*śaṅkaṭaC*|*kaṭaC*) ? (The meaning of) '*na saha*', that is, 'separation' is connoted, because *na saha* recurs (from the rule : *vi.nañ.bhyāṁ nā.nāñ.au na saha*, *A.*5,2,27) : [The suffixes *nā* and *nāñ* are appended to *vi-* and *nañ* respectively in the sense of separated; e.gs. *vinā* 'without' and *nānā* 'several'].

(If this is admitted, the collocations) *viśāle śṛṅge* [two horns are separated from each other], *viśaṅkaṭe śṛṅge* ['*id.*'] could be justified. (But with reference to the constructions *saṁkaṭam, prakaṭam* and *utkaṭam*, it should be stated that the idea of separation is not applicable, since the constructions are interpreted to mean 'united action,' 'advanced action' and 'emerged action' respectively). Here, of course, the meaning 'united' is understood from *saṁkaṭam*, 'advanced' from *prakaṭam*, and 'emerged' from *utkaṭam*.[5]

In order to meet the above objection, (it may be pointed out that) the meaning of *śālaC* and other suffixes can be accepted as (indicating) the instrumental cause of action (*sādhana*-). (Do you think that) this should be (specifically) mentioned ? It need not be (mentioned here). How can this (then) be understood when (it is) not (categorically) stated (by P.) ? (This can be comprehended by the fact that) these (suffixes) are enjoined after the *upasargas* (verbal prefixes) ; accordingly, *upasargas* are so conditioned that when a word denoting (verbal) action is employed, the prefixes specify (or particularize) the action (of the verb, that is to say, the *upasargas* generally modify or particularize the meaning of verbal action) ; but when it (a word expressing the

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5. Following Pat.'s statement, *iha khalu saṁkaṭam iti saṁgatārtha gaṁyate, prakaṭam iti pragatārtha gaṁyata, utkaṭam iti udgatārtho gamyate*, we may add : *vikaṭam iti vigatārtha gaṁyate*| Presumably this means that the construction *vikaṭam*, is interpreted to convey the meaning 'disassociated, just as in *saṁkaṭam, prakaṭam* and *utkaṭam*, the prefixes suggest the sense of *saṁgata-, pragata-*, and *udgata-* respectively. Since *śālaC, śaṅkaṭaC* and *kaṭaC* are neither verbal forms nor verbids, these suffixes are added to *vi-* and other prefixes to denote the object qualified by the action.

verbal action) is not employed, the prefixes express the action together with the entities which participate in the accomplishment of action (*sasādhanāṁ kriyām*). Since the suffixes (*śālaC*, *śaṅkaṭaC* and *kaṭaC*) are prescribed after *upasargas*, they indicate the action together with the means of its accomplishment.

(At this stage, a further argument may be adduced : the action *vigamana-* carrying the sense of 'going asunder' can be applied to *śṛṅga-* 'horn', and hence the usage) *viśāle śṛṅge* could be justified. On the other hand, (the constructional pattern) *viśālaḥ viśaṅkaṭaḥ* (* *gauḥ*)[6] cannot be proved (, because the idea of 'going asunder' is absent in this collocation).

This (constructional pattern—*viśālaḥ*, *viśaṅkaṭaḥ*) too can be established. How ? (It could be justified on the ground that) another suffix *-a-* is appended in the sense of possession. (The explanation, then, of the constructions *viśālaḥ* and *viśaṅkaṭaḥ* is as follows :) It is called *viśāla-* because it possesses (two horns which) go asunder (that is, separated from each other). It is called *viśaṅkaṭa-* since it (*gauḥ*) has two horns which are separated (by the intervening portion)."[7]

6. *Upasargas—their position and function*

6.0. Before reviewing Pat.'s disquisition on *A.* 5,2,28,

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6. Prof. K.A. Sivaramakrishna Sastri (in a private communication) considers it preferable to supply the reading**gauḥ* after *viśaṅkaṭaḥ* for clarity. This is evidently shown in Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* gloss : *Śṛṅgayor eva vigamana.kriyā.kartṛtvaṁ na gor iti|* However, the reading **gauḥ* does not appear in the available printed editions of the *Mahābhāṣyam*. Kielhorn too omits this reading.

7. For the text of the *Mahābhāṣyam*, see Kielhorn's edn. (VMB) Vol. II p. 375 lines 19-21 and p. 376, lines 1-6. For the *Pradīpa* gloss, see Joshi's edn., *loc. cit.*

a passing reference may be made, at this juncture, to two problems—the structural position of *upasargas* and the meaning ascribed to them when they are in composition with the verbal stems—in P.'s grammatical system.

6.1. *Structural position of upasargas*

All *avyaya-s* (indeclinable morphemes) in P.'s metalinguistic system, include *nipāta-s* (usually translated as particles) which consist of three classes : (i) *upasarga-s*, (ii) *gati-s* and (iii) *karma-pravacanīya-s*, which may be shown in the following frame :

a v y a y a (*A.* 1,1,37-41)

n i p ā t a (*A.* 1,4,56-97)

upasarga	gati	karmapravacanīya
(*A.* 1,4,59;80	(*A.* 1,4,60-79)	(*A.* 1,4,83-97)

The term *avyaya*[8] is defined in the *kārikā* :

> *sadṛśaṁ triṣu liṅgeṣu sarvāsu ca vibhaktiṣu |*
> *vacaneṣu ca sarveṣu yan na vyeti tad avyayam ||*

P. gives 22 forms listed in the *prādigaṇa* (*pra-*, *sam-*, *vi*, *ut-*, etc.) the designation *upasarga-s* and *gati-s*, when these (prefixes) are in combination with a verb expressing action. In fact, *pra-* and other morphemes listed in the *prādigaṇa* (*prādayaḥ A.* 1,4,58) are designated *nipāta-s*

8. *Gop. Br.* i. 6; *Kāśikā* to *A.* 1,1,37 : *svarādi nipātam avyayam|* For the justification of the terms *avyaya, nipāta,* see Pat. and Bhaṭṭoji (*Śabdakaustubha*) *ad A.* 1,1,37. For the historical explanation of these terms, cf. S. K. Chatterji, *Upasargas and other Technical Terms*, 3-40 (Calcutta, 1955). Note that all *upasarga-s* are *gati-s* (*gatiś ca- A.* 1,4,60) but all *gati-s* are not *upasarga-s*.

when they do not signify substances (*asattve* recurring from *cādayo' sattve A.* 1,4,57 and *nipātāḥ* from *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ A.* 1,4,56).

The class of forms which go under the appellation *Karmapravacanīya-s* are the closed morphemes which originally showed (or qualified) verbal action, but presently occurring as independent morphemes. Pat. in his commentary on the rule : *Karmapravacanīyāḥ* (*A.* 1,4,83) mentions that as a self-explanatory term (*anvarthasaṁjñā*), *karmapravacanīya-s* refer to the morphemes which suggest the *saṁbandhaviśeṣā* of a *kriyā* which is not now used ; and he says :

> anvartha. saṁjñā yathā vijñāyeta karma proktavanta karmapravacanīyā iti / ke punaḥ karma proktavantaḥ / ye saṁprati kriyāṁ na āhuḥ / ke ca saṁprati kriyāṁ na āhuḥ / ye'prayujyamānasya kriyām āhus te karmapravacanīyāḥ // (*VMB* I. 346. 16-8)

The *karmapravacanīyā-s* should be distinguished from verbal prefixes, since the latter class is designated *gati-s* / *upasarga-s* only when they are in composition with a verb (or verbid) expressing action. To cite the *vārttikam* (No. 3, *VMB* I. 342.7) : *gaty upasargasaṁjñāḥ kriyāyoge yat.kriyā.yuktas taṁ prati iti vacanam* /

P. formulates the principle that *gati-s* and *upasarga-s* (in the *Bhāṣā* which should be distinguished from the *Chandas*) are inseparably combined with verbal stems (*te prāg dhātoḥ A.* 1,4,80). However, an exception to this principle is seen in the language of the *Chandas*, since the Vedic prefixal morphemes can occur either before or after the verbal forms (*chandasi pare'pi A.* 1,4,81). In fact, P. has correctly observed tmesis in the case of

Vedic prefixes, that is to say, they are separated from verbs by intervening words (*vyavahitāś ca A.* 1,4,82) and exist as minimal free forms. Furthermore, he points out that, in the Vedic stems *nivat-* and *udvat-*[9], the prefixes (*ni-* and *ud-*) convey the meaning of the verbal root, when *vati* (=*vat*) is suffixed to the nucleus (*upasargāc chandasi dhātvarthe A.* 5,1,118). But it is not particularly apparent whether a prefix could be combined with a taddhita suffix in the *Bhāṣā*.

6.2. *Semantic function of upasargas*

Sanskrit grammarians generally admit that *upasarga-s* serve to suggest the meanings not already given, and that "the manifold meanings of roots are suggested by the prepositions, and they have no independent sense".[10] Yāska (*Nirukta* I. 3. Ed. L. Sarup, Punjab, 1927, p. 29) refers to the two contrary views ; (i) prefixes, when separated from verbs, do not carry any meaning (Śākaṭāyana) and (ii) they express diverse meanings (Gārgya). P. has not directly thrown any light on the question of the semantic function of the *upasarga-s*.

Subjecting Kātyāyana's *vt.* (*VMB* I. 256.3) : *kriyā. viśeṣakā upasargāḥ*—an *upasarga* enables a root to denote another verbal action—to a critical investigation, Pat. (*ad A.* 1,3,1 : *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*) argues that in the two closed constructions *tiṣṭhati* and *pratiṣṭhate* which differ in meaning, the root *sthā* in the former construction

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9. *nivataḥ/ udvataḥ*, see *ṚV* 3,2, 10; *TS* 3,2, 4,4 and *MaiS* 4,14,1. Cf. *VMB* I. 342., 18-9.

10. Cf. Charu Deva, "On the function and use of the prepositions in Sanskrit", *The Research Bulletin* (Arts), Panjab Univ., 1951, No. 1, pp. 1;3,

means the absence of going, while in the latter the root *pra-sthā* denotes the sense of 'going' which is suggested by the verbal prefix *pra-* ; and he says,

> iha tarhi vyaktam arthāntaraṁ gaṁyate / tiṣṭhati pratiṣṭhata iti / tiṣṭhati iti vraji.kriyāyā nivṛttiḥ pratiṣṭhata iti vraji.kriyā gaṁyate / te manyāmaha upasarga.kṛtam etad yena atra vraji-kriyā gaṁyata iti / (*VMB* I. 256. 8-10)

This argument, according to N ā g e ś a, leads us to three considerations : (i) If the prefix alone suggests the action of going, *sthā* cannot be termed a root (*dhātu*) ; (ii) The action of going cannot be the meaning ascribed to *sthā* alone, since it possesses a different signification; and (iii) If the meaning stems from *pra-sthā*, it (the whole root) alone gets the designation *dhātu* :[11]

> tatra vrajikriyāyā upasarga.mātra.arthatve dhātutva.anāpattiḥ / tiṣṭhati.mātrasya tu na arthas tasya tan.nivṛtty.arthakatvāt / viśiṣṭhasya tad arthakatve tu tasya eva dhātutvāpapattir iti bhāvaḥ// (*Uddyota* gloss, *PMB*,Ed. Sastri-Kudala, Bombay, 1935, Vol. II. 118)

B h a r t ṛ h a r i, K a i y a ṭ a and N ā g e ś a are of opinion that prefixes (together with all *prādi-s*) do not denote any sense, but simply indicate it ; "they are, in fact, dyotakas and not vācakas".[12]

7. *Resume of Pat.'s interpretation*

We have now to resume Pat.'s interpretation of *A*. 5,2,28 (Para. 5 *supra*) in the light of what has been

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11. Cf. P.S S. Sastri, *Lectures on the Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. IV. 203. f. n. (Trichy, 1956).

12. K. V. Abhyankar, *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, 81-2 (Baroda, 1961).

said about the structure and function of *upasarga-s* in paras 6.1 and 6.2. The two rules *A*. 1,4,59 and 60 put sharp limitations on the employment of prefixes so that any *upasarga* when combined with a theme different from a verbal stem, would generally be regarded as arbitrary and implausible by Pāṇinists. Pat. has, therefore, taken an exception to this fundamental principle of *upasarga-s* in order to justify the linkage of the prefixes with the secondary suffixes enumerated in para 1. He attempts to solve the problem by postulating two different functions of prefixes : first, that when these are prefixed to verbal stems, the *upasarga-s* delimit the verbal action (*kriyā. viśeṣakatva-*) ; and second, that when these occur in isolation as free morphemes without being linked to verbal stems, the prefixes stand for the qualified object through action (*sasādhanā kriyā* in Pat.'s phraseology but *kriyopasarjanadravya-* in Kaiyaṭa's meta-term). It may by mentioned in this connection, however, that Kaiyaṭa congrously rounds of his gloss with the declaration that the *prādi-s*, when preposed to taddhita suffixes in *viśāla-* and other stems, should not be regarded as *upasarga-s*, although they go by this designation only because of their identical shape with *upasarga-s* ; he says :

anyatra upasarga.saṁjñā.darśanād viṣayāntare'pi
yogyatā.mātrāśrayaṁ prādīnām idam abhidhānam/
(Pt. B. Joshi's edn., *PMB* IV. 316)

The question of the independent existence of *vi-* and other *prādi-s* does not arise here, since these are in composition with the taddhita suffixes in *viśāla-* and other stems. Pat., consequently, has resorted to a semantic interpretation to settle the question by considering *śālaC*, *śaṅkaṭaC* and *kaṭaC* empty morphemes ; in other words, these suffixes do not play an independent semantic

function except that they possess *svārtha-*. Concomitantly, they suggest simply the meaning, *sasādhanā kriyā* which is implicit in the *prādi-s* when they are associated with the taddhita suffixes to form the secondary constructions like *viśāla-* and the rest. Although *śālaC* and other suffixes are empty morphemes, they are *tātparyagrāhaka-s* in the sense that they furnish the semantic criteria to indicate the special features of *upasarga-s* in the closed forms *viśālaḥ, viśaṅkaṭaḥ, vikaṭaḥ, saṁkaṭaḥ, prakaṭaḥ* and *utkaṭaḥ*.

It is, thus, quite clear that Pat. has presented a logical interpretation of P.'s formulation in such a manner that the suffixation of taddhita bound morphemes to the *upasarga-s* could be justified possibly on the ground that the suffixes would express (in such constructions as *viśāla-*) the action together with the means of accomplishment of action :

> ta ete upasargebhyo vidhīyamānāḥ sasādanāyām kriyāyām bhaviṣyanti /

8. *viśāla-/vikaṭa- in Vedic texts*

Of the six secondary stems tabulated in Para 4, *viśāla-* and *vikaṭa-* are attested in the Vedic texts ; the remaining stems are post-Vedic creations. The former occurs as an oxytone (which is in perfect agreement with the Pāṇinian accentual system) approximately 16 times in the *Saṁhitā-s* and seven times in the *Brāhmaṇa-Āraṇyaka* texts, while the latter as an oxytone is recorded once in the *Paippalāda AV Saṁhitā* (20, 13, 10), and, as a vocative, it (*vikaṭa-*) is barytonised in *ṚV* 10, 155, 1. The first occurrence of *viśāla-* in the Vedic texts is shown in Tables 2 and 3 :

TABLE 2

Saṁhitā texts (*VPK.*, *Saṁhitās*, V. 2911-2)

Vocable	BLACK YV				WHITE YV		Paippalāda
	TS	KKS	KāṭhaS	MaiS	KS	MS	AV
viśālāḥ	2,1,8,5	....	13,5	....	....	....	....
viśālām	4,3,12,2	26,1	17,2	2,8,2	15,3,2	14,9	....
viśāle	....	....	....	....	....	....	7,6,8

TABLE 3

Br. Ār. Texts (*VPK. Br. Ār. Index*, II. Pt. 2,928)

Vocable	*ŚB*	*Tāṇḍ. Br.*	*Jai. Br.*	*Jai.Ār.Br.*
viśālám	8,2,4,2	12,13,11	16	....
viśālāni	....	....	....	1,155
viśāle	....	....	....	1,525

The meanings "spacious, extensive, broad, large" are ascribed to the Vedic *viśāla-* ; in the epics and *kāvyas*, it is variously translated as "great, important, powerful, eminent, etc." The *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa*[13]

13. *MW.*, *Dictionary*, 990. VB omits *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa* reference (*s.v. Br. Ār.* Index). For the meanings of *viśāla-*, see *Medinī* (cited in the *Tattvabodhinī* comm. *ad US.* I. 115 (*SK* IV. 146) :

viśāle tvindra.vāruṇyāṁ ujjayinyāṁ tu yoṣiti /
nṛpavṛkṣabhidoḥ puṁsi pṛthulo'py abhidheyavat //

employs the vocable as an indeclinable (*viśālam*) in the sense of 'extensively'.

Vikaṭa- in *ṚV* and *AV Saṁhitā-s* is rendered as 'hideous'; in post-vedic texts—it disappears in the *Br. Ār.* literature—heterogeneous meanings are assigned to it. The accentuation of *vikaṭa-* in P. and the Veda has been discussed elsewhere [*IL* (1966) 26. 18-26].

9. *Viśāla-* : *two derivations*

9.1 *Uṇādi-sūtra* (*US*) I. 115

The rule *US* I. 115 : *tami. viśi. bidi. mṛṇi. kapi. pali-pañcibhyaḥ* (*SK* IV. 146) prescribes the suffix *KālaN* (=bound morpheme *āla-*) after the roots *tam*, *viś* and the rest. Accordingly, *viśāla-* is formed by the addition of the suffix *āla* to the root *viś*, and the primary derivative stem, thus constructed, is a barytone, since the accent exponent /*N*/ of *KālaN* indicates *ādyudātta* by the rule : *ñnityādirnityam* (*A*. 6,1,193). This obviously goes against P.'s teaching that *viśāla-* is a taddhita stem and against the Vedic data in which the acute accent consistently falls on the final syllable of *viśāla-*.

9.2. M a h ī d h a r a : *Commentary on MS 15,5*

The *Vājasaneyi-mādhyandina-saṁhitā* at 15,5 reads : *viśālám chándaḥ*, which is glossed by M a h ī d h a r a as under :

> viśālaṁ vividhaṁ śālante śobhante janā yatra
> iti viśālaṁ bhūtam / '*ayaṁ vai loko viśālaṁ chandaḥ*' iti śruteḥ / (Bombay edn., 1912, p. 276)

He derives *viśāla-* from the root *śāl* 'to shine' (or 'to be distinguished, endowed with'—*Dh.P.* viii. 37 ; xxxiii. 18, V o p a d e v a) to which *vi-* is preposed. If we assume—although the hermeneutist does not expli-

citly mention it—that *aC* (= bound morpheme *-a-*) is suffixed to the nucleus, the stem *viśāla-* could be derived from the process : *vi* + √*śāl* + *aC* = *vi-śāl-á-*. The purpose behind the suffixation of *aC* is the justification of the Vedic oxytone (*viśālá-*), since the accent exponent /*C*/ of *aC* indicates the oxytonesis (*antodātta*) in conformity with the rule : *citaḥ* (*A.* 6,1,163). First of all by resorting to the hermeneutist's explanation, we can overcome the seeming difficulty of combining a prefix with a taddhita suffix. Secondly, we can maintain the well-known Pāṇinian principle of the inseparable connection of an *upasarga* with a verbal stem. Notwithstanding that P.'s morphemic segmentation admits of *śālaC* as a taddhita suffix, the hermeneutist regards *śāl-* as the root element.

9.3 Whatever might be the value attached to the two derivations of *viśāla-*: (i)√*viś* + *āla* and (ii) *vi* √*śāl* + *aC*, the simple fact remains that, both according to *US* I. 115 and M a h ī d h a r a, *viśāla-* is a primary derivative stem. The former treats the stem as a barytone vis-a-vis the Vedic oxytone. If the hermeneutist would remain consistent enough to supplement his gloss with the observation that *aC* should be postposed to the nucleus, we could explain satisfactorily the Vedic oxytone.

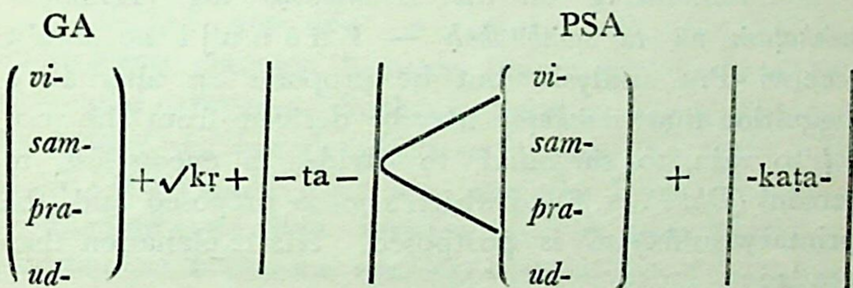
10. *Prakritism : kaṭa- > kṛta-*

From a diachronic standpoint the cacuminals seem to present an innovation in the Indo-Aryan (IA) when compared with the rest of Indo-Germanic (or IE) languages. The emergence of these typical Indian sounds may partly be due to the phonological modification of IE dentals (*AIG* I. sect. 146). Consequently, *-kaṭa-* in *saṁ-kaṭa-* and other stems, is a phonological alternation of *kṛta-*; the change of *ṛ* plus a dental *t* are

characteristic middle IA phonological features. Consistent with the diachronic evidence that "OIA ordinarily cerebralised dentals in contact with cacuminals in a consonant nexus,"[14] we now derive the stems in *kaṭa-* from the following process :

{*vi-, sam-, pra-, ud-*} + √*kṛ* + /*-ta-*/

where the morphemes enclosed between braces are *upasarga-s* and *kṛ-* is the root element to which is postposed the past passive participial bound morpheme *-ta-* which is inserted between diagonal lines. The post-Pāṇinian grammatical analysis (=GA) vis-a-vis the Pāṇinian structural analysis (=PSA) of the type : *kṛta-* <-*kaṭa-* may be represented in the following frame :



11. *-śaṅkaṭa- in viśaṅkaṭa-*

The classical Sanskrit vocable *viśaṅkaṭa-* is glossed as "extensive, large, big, wide", in the *Amara-Koṣa* (III. 60, Ed. Sivadatta, Bombay, 1944) :

viśaṅkaṭaṁ pṛthu bṛhad viśālaṁ pṛthulaṁ mahat/

Both *viśāla-* and *viśaṅkaṭa-* are treated as synonymns. With regard to the latter vocable, Wackernagel (*AIG* II.2 section 739) writes :

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14. S. M. Katre, *Prakrit Languages*, 70-1 (Bombay, 1945)

> *śaṅkaṭa-* lehrt P.5,2,28 für Kl. *viśaṅkaṭa-* 'ausgedehnt, grauenhaft'; es ist (mit dialektischen *ś* fur *s* nach I 225 Ş 197 da) identisch mit ep. *saṁ-kaṭa-* 'schmal' (Ş369) Benfey 244.

Accordingly, *śaṅkaṭa-* (the Pāṇinian taddhita suffix) is identical with the Epic Sanskrit *saṁkaṭa-* (narrow, small), and the initial voiceless palatal fricative *ś* represents a dialectal variation for the dental fricative *s*. Although *-śaṅkaṭa-* and *saṁkaṭa*[15] appear to be partly homonymous,[16] the former does not occur as an independent stem in the Sanskrit language. Presumably, *-śaṅkaṭa-* (in *viśaṅkaṭa-*) is equated with *saṁkaṭa->saṁ-kṛta-*.

12. *Bhānuji's derivation of saṁkaṭa-*

Commenting on the *Amara-koṣa* tag (III.85)—*saṁkaṭaṁ nā tu saṁbādhaḥ* — Bhānuji no doubt accepts P.'s analysis, but he proposes an alternative suggestion that *saṁkaṭa-* may be derived from the root *kaṭ* 'to rain, to surround, to divide, to encompass, to screen' (*Dh. P.* ix. 6) to which *sam-* is preposed and (the primary suffix) *aC* is postposed. His explanation then reads :

> saṁkaṭati /'*kaṭe varṣāvaraṇayoḥ*' (bhvādi, Paras., seṭ) / *ac* (*A.* 3,1,134) / yad vā—saṁbādharthād 'saṁ-śabdāt svārthe '*saṁprodaśca...*' (*A.* 5,2,29) iti kaṭac//

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15. For the meanings assigned to *saṁkaṭa-*, see *MW, Dictionary*; cf. Tamil, Malayalam *sangadō* 'difficulty', grief', Telugu *sankaṭəm* '*id.*' colloquial kannada *sankṭa*, but written *sankaṭa* 'unpleasant'.

16. "Two constructions are wholly homonymous if every sequence that in some occurrences belongs to the one construction, in other occurrences belongs to the other; they are partly homonymous if some but not all sequences meet this condition" : Wells., "Immediate Constituents", *Lang.* 23.97 (1947).

In view of his first explanalion, *saṁkaṭa-* may be regarded as an oxytonic deverbative.

13. *prefix+√kaṭ+aC: a priori assumption*

It deserves mention in this connection that what is true of the process: *sam* +√*kaṭ* +*aC* (which Bhānuji has proposed for *saṁkaṭa-*) might hold good in the case of other stems, enumerated in *A.* 5,2,29. Yāska (*Nirukta* 6,31) has already shown that *vikaṭa-* may be derived from the root *kaṭ~kuṭ*. The *Śabdakalpadruma* (IV. 370) makes a similar observation: *vi+kaṭa+(padādy) aC*. If *kaṭ* were the root element and *aC* the suffix, then the stems in *-kaṭa-* may be derived by the following process :

{*vi-*, *sam-*, *pra-*, *ud-*} + √*kaṭ* + *aC*

where forms enclosed between braces will have to be designated *upasarga-s*. Such an *a priori* assumption about the process—as has already been suggested by Yāska, Mahīdhara, Bhānuji and the author of the *Śabdakalpadruma*—gives importance to the Pāṇinian procedure of linking an *upasarga* with a verbal stem on the one hand, and justifies the oxytonisation of the stems on the other. Nevertheless, this assumption goes against P.'s treatment of *viśāla-* and the rest as taddhita formations as shown in *A.* 5,2,28-29.

14. *Resume*

From a close examination of the prefix-suffix-linkage presented by P. in *A.* 5,2,28-29 vis-a-vis the analysis of the secondary derivative stems in *śālaC/śaṅkaṭaC/kaṭaC* by post-Pāṇinian grammarians, we resume the following considerations :

1. P.'s morphemic segmentation makes *śālaC*, *śaṅkaṭaC* and *kaṭaC* taddhita suffixes, and *vi-* and other

F, 13

prādi-s form the nucleur constituents. Yet we are not in a comfortable position to know whether P. considers the preposed elements (*prādi-s*) as *upasarga-s*.

2. Pat. in his attempt to justify P., has given perforce, a prefixal status to *vi-*, *sam-*, *pra-*, *ud-* by taking resort to a semantic explanation that, when *-śāla-* and other bound morphemes are suffixed to the nuclei, they express the action together with the means of its accomplishment. Nevertheless, K a i y a ṭ a does not regard them as *upasarga-s,* although the *prādi-s* show structural identity with the verbal prefixes.

3, If the prefix-suffix- linkage is considered implausible, and, therefore, arbitrary in accordance with the strict canons of Sanskrit grammar, we can tide over the decorous objection by resorting to the analysis of post-Pāṇinian grammarians that

(i) *viśāla-* may be derived from the process : *vi* +√*śāl* + *aC* (M a h ī d h a r a) ;

(ii) *śaṅkaṭa-* in (*vi-śaṅkaṭa-*) may be equated with *saṁ-kaṭa* - > *saṁ-kṛ-ta-* (Wackernagel) ;

(iii) stems in *-kaṭa-* may be derived from the process : {*vi-*, *sam*, *pra-*, *ud-*} + √*kṛ* + *ta* (>*kaṭa-*) through an evident prakritism; and

(iv) alternatively stems in *-kaṭa-* may be drawn from the process :

{*vi-*, *sam-*, *pra-*, *ud-* } + √*kaṭ* + *aC*

(as suggested by Mahīdhara and Bhānuji).

4. The very fact that the traditional Sanskrit commentators have proposed alternative derivations for *viśāla-*, *vikaṭa-*, *saṁkaṭa-* remarkably reveals that

post-Pāṇinian grammarians have been confronted with the basic difficulty of the Pāṇinian manner of appending a taddhita suffix to a *prādi* which is structurally identical with an *upasarga.*

5. If the derivational process suggested by Mahīdhara and Bhānuji were admitted *au grand serieux, viśāla-* and the rest must be regarded as primary derivative stems and as oxytonic formations.

6. The *a priori* assumption of later Pāṇinīya-s would still give importance to the Pāṇinian procedure of combining an *upasarga* with a verbal stem in conformity with the rules *A.* 1,4,58-59 and 80 on the one hand, and justify the oxytonesis on the other.

It emerges from the facts mentioned above that, in our attempt to solve P.'s difficult formulations, we may apply the tests of logical or linguistic technique in such a manner that the inner mechanism of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* remains intact.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.	...	*Aṣṭādhyāyī*
AIG	...	*Altindische Grammatik*
P.	...	Pāṇini
Pat.	...	Patañjali
VPK	...	*Vaidikapadānukramakoṣa* (Ed. Vishva Bandhu)

N. B. For the abbreviations of Vedic texts, see *VPK.*

post-Pāṇinian grammarians have been confronted with the basic difficulty of the Pāṇinian manner of expounding a taddhita [illegible] is [illegible] identical with [illegible].

3. [illegible] derivational process suggested by Mahā[illegible] adopted [illegible] and [illegible] can be regarded as primary derivative [illegible] formations.

[illegible] a [illegible] conception of late Pāṇinīya-s [illegible] give importance to the Pāṇinian procedure of combining [illegible] with a verbal stem in conformity with the rules [illegible] on the one hand, and justify the [illegible] on the other.

It emerges from the facts mentioned above that, in [illegible] attempts to solve Pāṇini's formulations, we may [illegible] the [illegible] of logical or linguistic technique in such a manner that the inner mechanism of the Aṣṭādhyāyī remains intact.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. ... [illegible]

AG ... [illegible] Grammatik

P. ... Pāṇini

[illegible] ... Patañjali

[illegible] ... [illegible] (Ed. Vishva Bandhu)

N.B. [illegible]

ON THE SUBHĀṢITAHĀRĀVALĪ AND ON THE SŪKTISAHASRA

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1. One of the richest and most valuable *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* is the not yet edited Subhāṣita-saṁgraha of Harikavi also called the Subhāṣitahārāvalī (SH.). It exists in one MS. only, viz. No. 92 of 1883-84 in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona. I was able to secure a transcription of this MS. from the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and on the basis of this copy the present study is made.

2.1. The MS. was discovered by P. Peterson and an account of it was given in his *Second Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSs. in the Bombay Circle* (JBBRAS 44. 17; pp. 57-64) In 1934 Haradatta Sharma published an article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* entitled *The Subhāṣitahārāvalī of Śrī Hari Kavi* (pp. 478-485) and in 1934/35 P. K. Gode published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* an article entitled *Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa, a Court-Poet of king Sambhāji and his works* (16; pp. 262-291). In two other articles published in the *New Indian Antiquary* (3. 81-100) entitled *Hari Kavi's Contribution to the Problem of the bhavānī-Sword of Shivaji the Great* (3. 81-100) and in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* entitled *Pārijāta-dhvaja of the Marāṭhā Sambhāji* (16. 40-7), P. K. Gode mentioned often SH.

2.2. The MS. was sometimes used by F. W. Thomas in his Kavīndravacanasamuccaya as S.-Hārav (described

on p. 14); by D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale in their edition of the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa as Shv. (described on p. cxvi); by D. D. Kosambi in his edition of Bhartṛhari's Epigrams as SHV (described on p. 19); by L. Sternbach in his Mahāsubhāṣitasaṁgraha[1] as SH; and by Haradatta Sharma in his review of the Padyāvalī published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (17. 3; pp. 305-8). However no analysis of this unpublished anthology was ever made.

3.*1*. P. K. Gode and Haradatta Sharma have proved that Harikavi, the author of SH , was a Deccani Brahmin, resident of Surat, but residing occasionally at the court of king Sambjāji (son of Shivaji the Great); that he lived in the seventeenth century; and that he composed: (1) the Śambhurājacarita in 1685 (by order of Kavi-Kalaśa, the *guru* of king Sambhāji whom he called Kṛṣna-paṇḍita; (2) the Subhāṣitahārāvalī; (3) the Haihayendra-carita, a *mahākāvya* and (4) its commentary the Śambhu-vilāsikā by order of king Sambhāji himself.

3.2. Harikavi was the son and pupil of poet Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇasūri and Annapūrṇā; one of his brothers (the younger one) was Cakrapāṇi (referred to as *mathaniṣṭabhrātā*); his grandfather was Raṅganātha and his grand-grandfather was Cintāmaṇi; his popular name was Bhānubhaṭṭa. He did not, however, take to himself as P. Peterson suggested[2], the name of Akbarīyakālidāsa and did not live on Akbar's court as he quoted, among others, Jagannātha Paṇḍita who lived in the 17th century A. D.

3.3. P. K. Gode and Haradatta Sharma have also shown that Harikavi quoted poets from Kaśmīr up to

1. The first volume is due to appear in 1972.
2. Second Report; p. 57.

the Deccan and that he knew and used Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī.

4. The MS. of HS. is written in more than one hand and can be divided as F. W. Thomas suggested into three pieces or as D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale suggested into four pieces; one part of the MS is repeated twice and some new verses appear in one or the other part of the two texts. The numbering of the verses is very irregular and very often wrong. In order to be able to quote the verses of SH., I have numbered them from one to 2091 and from 38* to 248* (the latter numbers with asterisks denote verses quoted at the beginning of the second piece of the MS which, with some exception, are repeated in verses 843 to 1006 and 1034 to 1042). Annex I shows the manner in which this new numeration was done and the manner in which the verses were included in the various pieces of the MS. The first column shows the numbers of the folia as marked in the MS.; the second column the new numeration; and the third column the numeration of the verses as marked in the MS.[3] and the fourth column contains remarks on the irregularities in the numeration, repetitions in the neumbering and where the verses of SH. were quoted *in extenso* (q.)[4].

5. It seems that the MS. of SH. is composed of four pieces : the first piece is from folio 1 to 77 *b* contain-

3. E. g. fol. 24 *b* 18 will therefore be No. 218 and fol. 91 *b* 50. will be No. 1079.

4. G.—P. K. Gode, Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa (op. cit.);
Kav.—F. W. Thomas, The Kavīndra-vacanasamuccaya, Bibl. Ind.
M.— Mahāsubhāṣitasaṁgraha by L. Sternbach (op. cit.)
P.— P. Peterson, Second Report (op. cit.)
S. — Haradatta Sharma, The Subhāṣitahārāvalī... (op. cit.)

ing 1076 *subhāṣita-s*[5]; the second piece is from folium 77 R *a* upto folium 7 *b* (or 107 *b*) containing 573 *subhāṣita-s*[6] (of which the first part on folia 73 R *a* upto 91 *a* containing verses 38* to 248*, or 210 verses,[7] is repetitious of verses between 843 to 1042 (see above) in the first piece and the rest beginning with folio 91 *b* from verse 1078 can be considered as the continuation of folio 77 *b* of the first piece, but does not belong to the same MS.); the third piece is probably from folium 1 *a* (or 81 *a*) containing *subhāṣita-s* 1404 to 1573 (169 *subhāṣita-s*[8]) and ending with a colophon on folium 102 *b*; and the fourth piece is probably again from folium 1 *a* (after folium 102 *b*) upto folium 42 *b* or 43 *a* containing 519 *subhāṣita-s*[9] marked 1574 to 2091; this part is the *śṛṅgāra* section of SH. and has no ending.

6. Annex I shows to what extent the numbering in the different pieces of the text is irregular[10] : several

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5. In this part, I followed the numeration of the MS and left out the numbers which were left out in the MS and quoted as *bis* or *ter* the verses which were numbered in the MS. twice or three times. This part omits 23 verses and adds 22 verses; therefore the actual number of verses is 1076 instead of 1077; of the 1076 verses 31 verses are lost (Nos. 479—509) since folia 43 *a* to 44 *b* are missing.

6. No. 1417 contains 2 verses and Nos. 1321 and 1322 are one verse.

7. Of these 210 verses 25 verses (238* to 238*) are not found in the MS, since fol. 89 *a* to 90 *b* are missing; most of these verses are probably identical with verses 1007 to 1033. There is however a discrepancy of one verse (26 and 27 verses).

8. Should be 170 but No. 1495 was omitted.

9. Should be 517 but Nos. 1909 and 1965 were quoted twice.

10. Not all irregularities are marked here (particularly in pieces II to IV) because they are too numerous; for details see Aunex. I.

numbers are omitted[11], others are added[12], some verses are not numbered[13] while otheres are marked wrongly[14] or start from a new numeration[15].

7. SH. is divided into minor sections called differently. In the first piece they are called *muktāphala-s* or *praśasta-s* but we find also *subhāṣita-s* arranged in *praśaṁsa-s* and *nindā-s* or in *ākhyāna-s*. Some of the well known and usually included in *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* topics are found in SH., e. g. *dharma, adharma, nīti, rājanīti, kāma* as well as in the appendix *śṛṅgāra*, but SH. is not neatly divided, as most of the Sanskrit anthologies are, into chapters and subchapters, called *paddhati-s, adhyāya-s*, etc.

8.1. Although there exists one MS only of this work, we can see from the comparison of pieces II and I that this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* was known in more than one MS. and that the texts were not always identical.

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11. Piece I: 26, 28, 30, 47, 77, 420-429, 464, 665-6, 685-8, 975; Piece II: 19, 78-9 (fol. 41 *a*), 78-9 (fol. 5*b*); Piece III: fol. 2 *a*-4 *b* (16-51), fol. 5 *b*, 8 *a*, 9 *a*; Piece IV: fol. 7 *a*,10 *b*, 14 *a*, 17 *a*, 25 *a*, 27*a* 29 *a*, 33 *a*, 38 *b*. (marked *bis*).

12. Piece I: 8, 12, 38, 57, 99, 154 (*bis* and *ter*), 372, 562, 563, 798, 843, 980 to 989; Piece II: 82* 163*, 51 (fol. 4 *a*), 1311 and 1312 (fol.2 *b*); Piece III. fol. 9 *a*; Piece IV: fol. 3 *b* (All marked *bis*).

13. Piece I 96-160, 193; Piece II 73, 77. See also fn. 15.

14. Piece I: 57-9 instead of 67-69; 61-102 instead of 161-202; 3-877 instead of 203 to 1077; Piece II: fol. 6. *a* and 6 *b* Nos. 57-59 instead of 67-69, etc. see also fn. 15.

15. Piece II: fol. 92 *a*, 95 *b*, 97 *a*, 98 *b*, 102 *a*; Piece III: fol. 4 *b*, 5 *b*, etc.; Piece IV: fol. 1 *b*, 2 *a*, 2 *b*, 3 *a*, 12 *a*, 13 *a*, 17 *b*, 18 *a*, 18 *b*, 24 *b*, 38 *a*, etc.; in all these places several numbers were omitted.

8.2. In piece I verses 843 to 1006 (fol. 62 *a* to 73 *b*) are identical with fol. 77 R *a* to 91 *a* (inserted after fol. 77 *b*) numbers 38* to 248* but verse 891 is found only in piece I and numbers 164*, 165* and 172* only in the second piece; also the order of some verses is sometimes different and many variants in the same texts in both pieces were noted (e. g. 898=92 *bis**; 913-15=107-8* or 975-6=169* to 170*); also some verses are ascribed in both pieces to different authors : verse 906 in piece I is not ascribed to any author and verse 907 contains at the end the name क्षेमेन्द्र[16], while its counterpart verses 100* and 101* in piece II contain at the end the name मृद्वस्यैतौ. This shows that the various texts of SH., which certainly existed, are not identical.

9. The greatest value of SH. lies in an excellent selection of verses (which are both narrative and sententious with preponderance of beautiful poetic narrative verses) and in the selection of the authors and works quoted (189 in number). Some of the authors belong to the *mahākavi-s*, but some to generally less known poets (e. g. Argaṭa or Ravigupta), the names of some of them would have been lost for ever (e. g. Utkala or Śrī Dhanada) if they would not be included and preserved in this anthology. Already P. Peterson in his *Second Report for the Search of Sanskrit MSs.*[17] noticed it when he wrote that it appears that SH. "mounts as high for its sources as either Vallabhadeva's or Śarṅgadhara's work".

10. Annex II contains a list of authors and works quoted in SH.[18]. Harikavi culled the *subhāṣita-s* from

16. I did not find this verse in any of the works of Kṣemendra known to me.

17. Op, cit. p. 58.

18. This list may not be exhaustive, since some verses are not clearly ascribed to any author or work and some "ascriptions' are in reality headings of sections or sub-sections.

authors old and new, (i. e. contemporaneous or almost contemporaneous to himself.) We find some names which occur even in Hāla's Sattasaī (e. g. Karṇa) although it is not certain whether these authors were identical with those bearing the same name and cited by Hāla. We also come across contemporaries or almost contemporaries of Harikavi or late authors, as for instance the verses of his patron's *guru* Kṛṣnapaṇḍita or such authors as Paṇḍita Jagannātha, Akbāri-kālidāsa, etc. Harikavi quotes also as many as 41 verses written by himself (some of which are attributed to समाहृत्); they show that he himself was a poet of good standing. Between these extremes Harikavi quoted authors who lived in between, e. g. Vopadeva Paṇḍita from the 13th century or Madalāsa or Śārṅgadhara from the 14th century. None the less Harikavi quoted also well known poets and we find in his anthology quotations from Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti, Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari, Varāhamihira, Śrīharṣa, Rājaśekhara, Kṣemendra, Cāṇakya, Kāmandaki, Murāri, Rudra, etc. The poets quoted were mostly from North-West and Central India (Deccan).

11. In the beginning (of piece I) the sections deal with Viṣṇu, Śiva, Skanda and other Hinduistic Gods, but we find also in SH. Buddhist and Jain authors. SH. quotes, for instance, Bhandanta Kumara who must have been a Buddhist or Jain author[19]. He also quoted authors, disciples of Śrī Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, e. g. Vāṇivilāsa or Puṣkarākṣa who appear also in Rūpa Gosvāmin's Padyāvalī.

12. Harikavi must have known the Śārṅgadharapaddhati (ŚP.) since he quotes two verses ascribed to

19. He is not quoted in the New Catalogus Catalogorum (NCC 4). Bhandanta is a honorific name for a Buddhist or Jain monk.

Śārṅgadhara 304 (=ŚP. 169); and 1855 (=ŚP. 3755); that would be the only place where he could have found these two verses.

13. Harikavi ascribed verses not only to individual poets but also to numerous works, some of which are little known (e. g. Lakṣmaṇakhaṇḍapraśasti) but some of which are well known poems e. g. the Mālatīmādhava or the Navaratna.[20]

14. In addition to ascriptions of verses to works, known or unknown, Harikavi ascribed several verses to a *subhāṣita saṁgraha* entitled Sūktisahasra. This anthology must have been well known in India at the latest in the 13th century, since it is quoted already by Jalhaṇa in his Sūktimuktāvālī (JS.). The Sūktisahasra is also quoted in ŚP.; it must have been the same work as that quoted in JS. and SH., since the four verses attributed in ŚP. to Sūktisahasra are also attributed in JS.to Sūktisahasra (ŚP. 584 =JS. 334. 13; ŚP. 3383=JS. 130.3; ŚP. 3804=JS. 239.3 and ŚP. 3868=JS. 220.9) and the five verses attributed in SH. to Sūktisahasra are also attributed in JŚ. to Sūktisahasra (SH. 45 =JS 39. 75.[21] SH. 46.=JS. 31.78.; SH. 385=JS. 41.38; SH. 1798=JS 191. 103 and SH.1985 where for shortness it is ascribed to सूक्ति=JS.136.25). The nine

20. It is interesting to note that the entire text of the Navaratna containing eleven didactic verses was in in its entirety recopied in the Sūktimuktāvalī (Appendix IV), an anthology from the 16th or 17th century (not later than 1623) and in SH.; it found also its way to Ceylon where it became very popular as the Navaratnaya (cf. H. Bechert, *Sanskrittexte aus Ceylon* I, München 1962; pp. 25-7).

21. It is attributed there, probably wrongly to Hanumat; (it is found neither in the Mahānāṭaka nor in the Khaṇḍapraśasti); it belongs probably with the following verses to those ascribed below to the Sūktisahasra.

verses, i. e. the the four verses of ŚP. and the five different verses of SH. attributed to Sūktisahasra are found in JS where they are also attributed to Sūktisahasra.

15. In general, many verses are attributed by Harikavi to different authors[22]; these ascriptions are given at the end of the verse but in some cases the ascriptions precede the text (e. g. for Navaratna Nos. 1393-1403); in many places spaces were left blank to insert later the names of authors to whom the verses were ascribed.

16. As shown above, some verses are ascribed in different texts of SH. to different authors; in many cases the ascriptions are wrong (e. g. verse 564 ascribed to the Mahābhārata is not found there) and in some cases the names of the authors are spelt wrongly (e. g. verse 1746 is ascribed to Arasīteṭhakkura and verse 1599 to Arasīṭhakkura while the proper spelling is Asarasīṭhakkura; probably the same applies to Utprekṣāvallabha whose name is spelt Utprekṣāvabha and even Utmekṣāvillāsa).

17. The text as such, particularly in piece I, is very well written. Errors are rare and usually unimportant, but piece IV in particular is full of errors and wrong readings and spellings.

18. Although SH.'s main part exist only in one MS.[23] this anthology is of great importance to the know-

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22. Particularly in the first and fourth piece.

23. G. V. Devasthali in his Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛta Manuscripts in the Bombay University Libtary (II. 772) erroneously described as a MS. a of SH. a fragmentary MS. 2266. As P. K. Gode has shown in his article "Date of the Subhāṣitamuktāvali" in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* 22. 55-9 the MS. from the Bombay University Library is a fragment of the Subāṣitamuktāvalī and not a fragment of SH.

ledge of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* and the history of Sanskrit literature as a whole; it is hoped that it will be soon critically edited in full.

19. Annexes I and II are integral parts of the present study. Annex I gives the new numeration of SH. and Annex II the list of poets and works quoted in SH.

20.1. As stated in paragraph 14 above we learn from SH., as well as from JS. and ŚP. that there existed at the latest in the first half of the thirteenth century an unknown work to us *subhāṣita-saṁgraha,* viz. the Sūktisahasra also called shortly Sūkti. As far as could be ascertained, no trace is found of this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* in any of the MSs. Libraries in India. Th. Aufrecht in *Catalogus Catalogorum* (Vol. I; p. 730) mentions it only as being quoted in ŚP. and the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (ed. by Dr. V. Raghavan and later by Kunjunni Raja) did not appear yet for the letter "s". The Sūktisahasra is also not quoted in the new catalogues of Sanskrit MSs. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal; in the Government Oriental MSs. Library in Madras; in the Government Collections of Manuscripts deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; in the Catalogue of the Adyar Library and in other recent catalogues, so that no information on it is available. The Sūktisahasra must have been a typical *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*; that is evident from JS, ŚP. and SH. which quote the Sūktisahasra; the verses quoted there deal with a variety of subjects usually found in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* with some preponderance of verses dealing with *śṛṅgāra.* The choice of verses in the Sūktiratnahāra must have been extensive, since JS quoted as many as 74 verses from this anthology, of which five are quoted in SH and 4 in ŚP.

20.2. It is unusual for a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* that none of the verses included therein should not be also quoted in other *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* or in any primary sources, but that is the case with the Sūktisahasra; it is therefore possible that it was a collection of stray verses not culled from different sources but a collection of stray verses composed by one—unknown to us—author, as was for instance Harihara's Sūktimuktāvalī.

20.3. The following verses are ascribed in JS. and in other *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* to Sūktisahasra :

JS.	Other anthologies :	JS.	Other anthologies :	JS.	Other anthologies :
10.15		15.47		39.21	
10.16		29.75[24]	SH 45	41.38	SH 385
14.39		30.78	SH 46	42.44	
57.9		222.23		245.3	
130.3	ŚP 3383	222.24		245.4	
130.4					
131.9		223.25		253.9	
131.10		223.26		253.10	
131.13		227.7		262.14	
131.14 (?)		227.10		308.13	
132.15		227.11		310.32	

24. In JS. wrongly ascribed to Hanumat, but not found either in the Khaṇḍapraśasti nor in the Hanuman-nāṭaka; the ascription should probably be the same as to 30.78.

132.16		227.12		312.50	
133.1		233.10		333.11	
133.2		233.11		334.12	
136.25	SH. 1985	233.12		334.13	ŚP 584
137.28		234.19		358.4	
164.1		236.5		358.5	
164.2		236.6		362.3	
164.3		239.2	ŚP 3804	362.4	
164.4		239.3		362.5	
164.5		239.4		364.15	
191.103	SH. 1798	239.5		365.20	
192.2		243.3		367.5	
206.3		243.4		408.55	
213.7		245.1			
220.9	ŚP. 3868	245.2			

ANNEX I

New Numeration of the Subhāṣitahāravalī

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
1*a*	1—5	1—5	V. 3 q.M.	
3*b*	6—7 *ab*	6—7		
2*a*	7*cd*—11*ab*	7—11	V. 10 q.M	+8 *bis*
2*b*	11*cd*—14	11—14		+12 *bis*
	text in prose			
3*a*	15—18*a*	15—18	V. 16 q.M	
3*b*	1 8*bcd*—20	18—20		+text in prose and additions on the margin
4*a*	21—24 *ab*	21—24	V. 22, 23 q.M	
4*b*	24 *cd*—29	24—29		26, 28, 30 omitted
5*a*	31—35	31—35	V. 32, 33 q.M.	
	text in prose			
5*b*	3*b*—39*ab*	36—39		+38 *bis*
6*a*	39*cd*—42	39—42		
6*b*	43—48	43—48	V. 45, 46 q.M	47 omitted
7*a*	49—52	49—52	V. 49,50,52 q.M	

F. 15

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Versus quoted in	Remarks
7*b*	53—57*ab*	53—57	V. 56 q.M	
8*a*	57*cd*—61	57—61	V. 57,58,61	
8*b*	62—66*abc*	62—66	V.65 q.G. (117)	67—69 marked 57—9+57*bis*
9*a*	66*d*,57—59, 70,71	66—71		
9*b*	72—76*ab*	72—76		
10*a*	76*cd*—81*abc*	77—81	V. 80qP(308)	77 omitted
10*b*	81*d*—86*a*	81—86	V. 84q.M	
11*a*	86*bcd*—89	86—89	V. 88q.M.	
11*b*	90—95	90—95	V. 93q.M	
12*a*	95*bis*—99*abc*	95*bis*—99	V. 94*bis*, 99 q.M	96—9 not numbered
12*b*	99*d*—103	99—103	V. 100q.M	99—103 not numbered
13*a*	104—108*a*	104—108	V. 104q.M	104—108not numbered
13*b*	108*bcd*—112 *abc*	108—112	V.109—110 q.P.(109)	108—12not numbered
14*a*	112*d*—117*a*	112—117	V. 113q.M	112—117not numbered
14*b*	117*bcd*—120	117—120	V. 119q.M	117—120not numbered
15*a*	121—124*a*	121—124	V. 121q.S (484);122q.S (482);123 q. P. (58)	121—124not numbered
15*b*	124*bcd*—128 *ab*	124—128	V. 125,128 q.M.	124—128not numbered

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
16*a*	128*cd*—132 text in prose	128—132		128—132 not numbered
16*b*	133—136*ab*	133—136		133—136 not numbered
17*a*	136*cd*—140	136—140	V. 140q.M.	136—140not numbered
17*b*	141—146*a*	141—146		141—146not numbered
18*a*	146*bcd*—151 *abc*	146—151		146—151not numbered
18*b*	151*d*—154*ab*	151—154	V. 154q.M.	151—154not numbered +151 *bis*+ *ter*
19*a*	154*cd*—160	154—160		151-160 not numbered
19*b*	61—65*a*	161—165		161-less 100 =61—65etc.
20*a*	66—70	166—170		
20*b*	71—75*a*	171—175	V. 172qM.	
21*a*	75*bcd*—79*abc*	175—179	V. 176q.Pad (306)	
21*b*	79*d*—88	179—188	V. 182,186 q.M.	
22*a*	89—95*a*	189—195		93 not numberd
22*b*	95*bcd*—100	195—200		
23*a*	101—2,3—6	201—206		
23*b*	7—12*ab*	207—212	V. 212q.S (480)	
24*a*	12*cd*—17	212—217	V 216,217 q.M.	

Fol.	Verses	New numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
24*b*	18—23*ab*	218—223	V. 221q.S (481),222 q,M	
25*a*	23*cd*—29	223—229	V. 227,229 q.M.	
25*b*	30—34	230—234		
26*a*	35—40	235—240		
26*b*	41—46	241—246	V. 242q.M V. 245q.Pad (306)	
27*a*	47—52*ab*	247—252	V. 252q.M.	
27*b*	52*cd*—57*ab*	252—257	V. 254q.M. V. 257q. Pad (306)	
28*a*	57*cd*—62	257—262		
28*b*	63—67	263—267		
29*a*	68—73*ab*	268—273	V. 268—9q. S. (484—5) and M;V.271—2q.M	
29*b*	73*cd*—78	273—278	V. 276q.M; V. 277q.Kav (P. 95)	
30*a*	79—84	279—284	V. 282, 284 q.M; of Kav (P. 89)	
30*b*	85—90*ab*	285—290		
31*a*	90*cd*—96*a*	290—296	V. 292q.M. V. 293q. Pad (308)	
31*b*	96*bcd*—103	296—S03	V. 297,298, 302—3q.M.	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
32*a*	104—112	304—312	V. 304—5q. M; V. 310q. P (61-2)	
32*b*	113—118	313—318	V. 313—4q. P (62)	
33*a*	119—124*a*	319—324	V. 321—2q. S. (488); V. 323q.S(478)	
33*b*	124*bcd*—134*ab*	324—331	V. 324 q.S (482); V.326 q.M.	
34*a*	131*ab*—143	331—343	V. 330,338—9 q.M.V.q. P. (59)	
34*b*	144—151	344—351	V. 346—7 q. P. (63); V. 347 q.M	
35*a*	152—158	352—358	V. 356—7 q. M	
35*b*	159—164	359—364	V. 360,361, 364 q.M.	
36*a*	165—172*bis*	365—372	V. 365, 368, 370 q.M, 372, 372 *bis*	+372 bis
36*b*	173—178*ab*	373 378	V. 374, 375 q.M	
37*a*	178*cd*—186*abc*	378—386	V. 381, 383 q.M	
37*b*	186*d*—193	386—393	V. 393 q.M cf Kav. (P. 40)	
38*a*	194—199*a*	394—399	V. 394q.M; V. 396—8q. P. (117)	
38*b*	199*bcd*—204*ab*	399—404	V. 401—403 q.S (482) V. 402—403 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
39*a*	204*cd*—210	404—410	V. 405 q.M	
39*b*	211—219	411—419	V. 416 q.G. (117), V.413, 414,415,417 q.M.	
	220—229 on	420—429on		10 verses omitted
40*a*	230—235*a*	430—435		
40*b*	235*bcd*—244*ab*	435—444	V. 436, 441 442,446q.M	
41*a*	244*cd*—255*ab*	444—455	V. 446,448—50, 452q.M V. 446—449 q.P (63) V. 451 q.P (64)	
41*b*	255*cd*—263*ab*	455—463	V. 454—456 q.S(482) 458, 460 q.M	
42*a*	263*cd*—272*ab*	463—472	V. 466,470, 471 q.M	
42*b*	272*cd*—278	472—478	V. 474—475 q.M	
43*a* 43*b* 44*a* 44*b*	279—309 missing	479—509 missing		missing
45*a*	310—314*ab*	510—514	V. 511, 513 q.M	
45*b*	314*cd*—319*abc*	514—519	V. 515,516, 517 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
46*a*	319*d*—326*ab*	519—526	V. 524 q. Kav. 89	
46*b*	326*cd*—335*ab*	526—535	V. 533 q.M	
47*a*	335*cd*—344*a*	535—544	V. 541, 543 q.M	
47*b*	344*bcd*—350 *ab*	544—550	V. 544, 545, 548 q.M	
48*a*	350*cd*—358*ab*	550—558		
48*b*	358*cd*—363 *abc*	558—563	V. 560 q.M	362 *bis*= 562 *bis*
49*a*	363*d*—370	563—570	V. 565, 569 q.M	368 *bis* = 563 *bis*
49*b*	371—380	571—580	V. 571, 575, 576 q.M	
50*a*	381—492*ab*	581—592	V. 586 q.M	
50*b*	592*cd*—402*ab*	592—602	V. 596 q.M	
51*a*	402*cd*—413	602—613	V. 607, 609, 611 q.M	
51*b*	414—420*ab*	614—620	V. 615, 617 q.M	
52*a*	420*cd*—428	620—628	V. 621, 627 q.M	
52*b*	429—438	629—638	V. 629, 631 q.M	
53*a*	439—449*ab*	640—649	V. 640, 648 q.M	
53*b*	449*cd*—461	649—661	V. 658, 659 q.M	
54*a*	462—474*ab*	662—674	V. 669,671, 672, 674q.M	465–6 = 665 —6 omitted
54*b*	474*cd*—484 485—488	474—684 685—688	V. 674, 677, 684 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
55*a*	489—499*ab*	689—699	V. 689, 692, 699 q.M	
55*b*	499*cd*—510	689—710	V. 704, 706, 707,708 q.M	
56*a*	511—522*ab*	711—722	V. 713, 718 q.M	
56*b*	522*cd*—532*ab*	722—732	V. 725, 728, 730 q.M	
57*a*	532*cd*—538*ab*	732—738	V. 734 q.M	
57*b*	538*cd*—549	738—749	V. 743, 746 q.M	
58*a*	550—562	750—762	V. 760 q.M	
58*b*	563—574	763—774	V. 768, 772, 774 q.M	
59*a*	575—584	775—784	V. 775, 776 q.M	
59*b*	585—594	785—794	V. 786, 791, 792 q.M	
60*a*	595—601*abc*	795—801	V. 795, 797, 798 q.M	598 *bis*= 798 *bis*
60*b*	601*d*—609	801—809	V. 805 see Kav. (35), 806 q.M	
61*a*	610—621*a*	810—821	V. 810 q.M	
61*b*	621*bcd*—632 *ab*	821—832	V. 827, 829, 830 q.M	
62*a*	632*cd*—643	832—843	V. 833, 834 q.M	843 also 38*
62*b*	643*bis*—650	843*bis*—850	V. 898 q.M	643 *bis*= 843 *bis* 843 *bis*—850 also 939*—46*

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
63*a*	651—657*abc*	851—857	V. 850, 851, 853 q.M	851—7 also 47*—53*
63*b*	657*d*—664*ab*	857—864		857—64 also 53*—60*
64*a*	664*cd*—669*ab*	864—869	V. 869 q.M	864—9 also 60*—65*
64*b*	669*cd*—676	869—876	V. 876 q.M	869—76 also 65*—72*
65*a*	677—682*ab*	877—882	V. 880 q.M	877—82 also 72*—78*
65*b*	682*cd*—686	882—886	V. 883 q.M	882—6 also 78*—82 *bis*
66*a*	687—693	887—893	V. 890, 892, 893 q.M	887—93 also 83*—88*
66*b*	694—698*abc*	894—898	V. 894, 896 q.M	894—7 also 89*—92 *bis*
67*a*	698*d*—704	897—904	V. 898, 899 q. S. 485 V. 899 q.M	897—904 also 92 *bis* —98*
67*b*	705—711	905—911	V. 909 q.M	905—11 also 99*—105*
68*a*	712—720*abc*	912—920	V. 915, 918, 920 q.M	912—20 also 106*—113*
68*b*	720*b*—729*ab*	920—929	V. 925 q.M	920—9 also 113*—122*
69*a*	729*cd*—737	929—937	V. 930, 936 937 q.M.	929—37 also 122*—130*

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
69*b*	738—749*ab*	938—949	V. 938, 939, 943, 944,945, 948 q.M.	938—49 also 131*—142*
70*a*	749*cd*—758	949—958	V. 950, 955, 957 q.M.	949—58 also 142* 151*
70*b*	759—778*abc*	959—970	V 961, 964, 966, 969 q.M.	959—70 also 152–* 163*
71*a*	970*d*—779	970—979	V. 971, 974, 977 q.M.	970—9 also 163*—175* 775 om.= 975 om.777 q. twice*= 975 and 977
71*b*	780—789+ 780	980—989+ 980 *bis*	V. 980 q.M·	980—9+ 980 *bis* also 176*—185* +188
72*a*	781,783—789	981 *bis*, 983 *bis*, 984*bis*–989 *bis*	V. 981 *bis* q.M.	981etc. also 186*,189*, 187*,190*—194*
72*b*	790, one verse not numbered 792—797	990—991 991*bis*, 992–997	V. 991, 997, q. M.	990etc. also 195*—203
73*a*	798—804*ab*	998—1004		990—1004 also 204*—210*
73*b*	804—814	1004—1014		1004—6 also 210*—213*
74*a*	815—821*abc*	1015—1021	V. 1017,1019 q.M.	
74*b*	821*d*—827*ab*	1021—1026		

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
75*a*	827*cd*—836	1027—1036	V. 1033q.M.	1033*cd*= 239* 1034 —6 also 240*—248*
75*b*	837—845*ab*	1037—1045	V. 1044q.M.	1037—1043 also 243*— 248*
76*a*	845*cd*—854	1045—1054	V. 1049, 1050, 1052 q.M.	
76*b*	855—861*a*	1055—1061	V. 1060,1061 q.M.	
77*a*	861 *bcd*+852 —860+871*a*	1061—1071	V. 1063, 1064, 1069 q.M.	
77*b*	871*bcd*—877	1071—1077		
77R*a*	34—40	38*—40*		=843, 843 *bis*, 844
77R*b*	41–42,42,43–44, 46—50	41*—50*	V. 47*q.M.	=845–854
78*a* (7*a*)	51—56*ab*	51*—56*		=855—860
78*b* (79)	56*cd*—63*ab*	57*—63*		=861—867
79*a* (80*a*)	63*cd*—70	63*—70*		=867—874
79*b* (80*b*)	71—77	71*—77*	V. 78*,79* q.M.	=875—881
80*a* (81*a*)	78—82*ab*	78*—82*		=882—836 verse
80*b* (81*b*)	82*ab*, 82*bis* —89*ab*	82*—89*	V. 87*q.M.	=886—893
81*a* (82*a*)	89*cd*—94*ab*	89*—94*		=893—900
81*b* (82*a*)	94*cd*—100+ 1—3	94*—103*		=900—909

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
82*a*	4—10*ab*	104*—110*		=910—916
82*b*	10*cd*—19*ab*	110*—119*		=916—926
83*a*	19*cd*—28*a*	119*—128*	V. 125*q.M.	=926—934
83*b*	28*bcd*—35*ab*	128*—135*	V. 132*q.M.	=934—942
84*a* (85*a*)	35*cd*—44	135*—144*		=942—951
84*b*	45—53*ab*	145*—153*		=952—960
85*a*	53*cd*—63*a*	153*—163*		=960—970
85*b*	63*bcd*, 63 *bis* –67*ab*	163*, 163* *bis* 164*—167*		=970, 971, 164*—165* new 166*—167*—972 973
86*a*	67*cd*—75	167*—175*	V. 168*q.M.	=973–974, 169*—171* =975–976; 172* new. 173*—175* =977—979
86*b*	76—85	176*—185*	V. 176*q.M.	=980—989
87*a*	86—92*ab*	186*—192*		=981 *bis*, 948*bis*, 980 *bis*, 983*bis*, 985*bis*–987 *bis*
87*b*	92*cd*—99	192*—199		=987*bis*—989*bis*, 990—1, 991*bis*, 992—993

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
88*a*	100+1—6*ab*	200*—206*		=994—1000
88*b*	6*cd*—16	206*—212*		=1000—1006
89 90	} 13—38 missing	213*—238* missing		} missing
91*a*	34—48	239*—248*		=1033*cd*—1042
91*b*	49—56	1078—1085	V. 1082q.M·	
92*a*	1—11*ab*	1086—1096	V. 1087, 1093, 1096 q.M.	
92*b*	11*cd*—18, 23—24*ab*	1096—1108	V. 1098, 1100, 1102, 1104q M.	
93*a*	24*cd*—35*ab*	1108—1119	V. 1113,1115, 1116, 1119, q.M	
93*b*	35*cd*—45	1119—1129	V. 1121,1125, 1127, 1129, q. M	
94*a*	46—56	1130—1140	V. 1130, 1137 q.M	
94*b*	57—60,64-67,+65*a*	1141—1155	V. 1141, 1153 q.M	
95*a*	65*bcd*—73*ab*	1155—1163		

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
95*b*	73*cd*—80+ 71--73	1163- -1173	V. 1164,1165, 1166, 1171 q.M	73 not numbered
96*a*	74—85*ab*	1174---1185	V. 1176,1178, 1179, 1182 q.M	
96*b*	85*cd*—96*ab*	1185---1196	V. 1187,1188, 1193 q.M	
97*a*	96*cd*—100+ 1—8	1196---1208	V. 1201,1203, 1205 q.M	
97*b*	9—19	1209---1219	V. 1211,1212, 1214, 1215, 1217 q.M	
98*a*	20—21+7— 11	1220---1231	V. 1223, 1228 q.M	27--31 marked as 7--11
98*b*	22--32	1232—1242	V. 1235 q.M	ten numbers omitted
99*a*	33—43*ab*	1243--1253	V. 1247, 1250 q.M	
99*b*	43*cd*--52	1253--1262	V. 1258, 1260 q.M	53—54 omitted
100*a*	55—62*ab*	1263--1270	V. 1268 q.M	
100*b*	62*cd*—71	1270—1279	V. 1277, 1279 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses queted in	Remarks
1*a*	73--77, 80--84	1280--1289	V. 1286 q.M	Nos. 72, 78, 79 omitted
1*b* (101*b*)	85--94	1290--1299	V. 1293, 1294, 1295, 1297 q.M	
2*a* (102*a*)	1--11	1300--1310		
2*b* (102*b*)	10--20*ab*	1311--1321	V. 1311, 1313, 1318 q.M	10—11 twice
103*a*	20*cd*--30	1322--1332	V. 1325, 1327 q.M	10—11 twice
103*b*	31--42	1333--1344	V. 1333, 1344 q.M	
4*a* (104*a*)	43--51 + 51 *bis*	1345--1354		
4*b* (104*b*)	52--63	1355--1366	V. 1357, 1366 q.M	
5*a* (105*a*)	64--74	1367--1377	V. 1371 q.M	
5*b* (105*b*)	75--83 + 57 *ab*	1378--1384	V. 1378, 1381, 1382 q.M	77 not numbered, 78—79 omitted.

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
6*a* (106*a*)	57*cd*—66, 57 *abc*	1385—1395	V. 1385, 1388 q.M	
6*b* (106*b*)	57*d*—59, 70 —72*ab*	1395—1400	V. 1399 q.M	
7*a* (107*a*)	72*cd*—75	1400—1403	V. 1403 q.M	
7*b* (107*b*)	blank			
1*a*	1—6*a*	1404—1409		
1*b*	6*bcd*—15*abc*	1409—1417	V. 1412, 1414, 1416 q.M	
2*a*	15*d*—20*ab*	1417—1422		16—20 not numbered
2*b*	20*cd*—25*ab*	1422—1427	V. 1423 q.M	not numbered (2*b*–4*b*)
3*a*	25*cd*—30*ab*	1427—1432	V. 1429 q.M	
3*b*	30*cd*—35	1433—1437	V. 1432, 1433, 1436 q.M	
4*a*	36—41	1438—1443	V. 1439 q.M	
4*b*	51+not numbered 52—59	1444—1450	V.1445, 1446q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
5*a*	60--70 *ab*	1451--1461	V. 1451, 1455, 1456 q.M	
5*b*	70*cd*–71+ 73–77+80 *ab*	1461–1470	V. 1468 q.M	between 73 and 74 and 77 and 80 not numbered before 83 and 84 text in prose.
6*a*	80*cd*—83 +84	1471—1474	V. 1471 q.M	
7*a* (96)	85	1475	V. 1475 q.M	
7*b* (96)	86—97*ab*	1476–1487	V. 1476, 1479, 1481, 1482 q.M	
8*a* (97*a*)	97*cd*—99+ 1—9	1487—1498	V. 1494,1498 q.M	1—4 not numbered 1995 omitted
8*b* (97*b*)	10–18*ab*	1499–1507	V. 1499,1500, 1504, 1506, q.M	
9*a* (98*a*)	18*cd*—26	1507—1576	V. 1509 q.M	21 not numbered, 22 *bis*
9*b* (98*b*)	27—34	1517—1524	V. 1522 q.M	
99*a*	35–39	1525—1529	V. 1529 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
99*b*	40--45*ab*	1530—1535	V. 1533, 1534 q.M	
100*a*	45*cd*—51	1536—1541	V. 1537, 1540 q.M	
100*b*	52—60*ab*	1542--1550	V. 1543,1544, 1545, 1548, 1549 q.M	
101*a*	60*cd*—11-- 19*ab*	1151—1559	V. 1551, 1552 q.M	
101*b*	19*cd*—27	1559—1567	V. 1563, 1564 q.M	
102*a*	28--33	1568—1573	V. 1568,1570, 1573 q.M	
102*b*	blank coloplion			
1*a*	1—6	1574—1579		
1*b*	7—10, 2—3 *ab*	1580--1585		
2*a*	3*cd*—5+10, 11, 11—13*ab*	1585—1592	V. 1589, 1592 q.M	
2*b*	13*cd*—17+ no number +29*a*	1592—1598	V. 1593, 1595 q.M	
3*a*	29*bcd*+20— 24*abc*	1599—1603	V. 1600 q.M	
3*b*	24*d*+24—29	1603—1609	V. 1605 q.M	
4*a*	30—34	1610—1614	V. 1612 q.M	
4*b*	35—40	1615—1620	V. 1618 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
5*a*	41—47*ab*	1621—1627	V. 1623 q.M	
5*b*	47*cd*—53*ab*	1627—1633		
6*a*	53*cd*—58	1633—1638		
6*b*	59—65	1639—1645	V. 1641 q.M	
7*a*	66—71 + no number	1646—1652		
7*b*	72—76*ab*	1653—1657	V. 1653, 1655, 1657 q.M	
8*a*	76*cd*—80	1657—1659 +1670—71	V. 1658 q.M	V. 1660—1669 omitted
8*b*	81—85	1672—1676	V. 1675 q.M	
9*a*	86—92	1677—1683	V. 1680 q.M	
9*b*	93—99	1684—1690	V. 1684 q.M	
10*a*	100—106*a*	1691—1697	V. 1695, 1696 q.M	
10*b*	106*bcd*—110 +2 not numbered	1697—1703		V. 109 on the margin
11*a*	113—122*ab*	1704—1713	V. 1707, 1710, 1713 q.M	
12*a*	30*bcd*—31 + 132—135*a*	1713—1721	V. 1717 q. pad (308); 1720 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
12*b*	135*bcd*—140 +41*a*	1726—1732	V. 1723 q.M	
13*a*	41*bcd*—49+ 148	1732—1740	V. 1734, 1740 q.M	
13*b*	49—55*ab*	1741—1747	V. 1747q. pad (308)	
14*a*	55*cd*—56+ no number +58—60+ 69—70*abc*	1747—1759		
14*b*	70*d*—72+57 +66—67+ no number	1759—1766	V. 1763, 1764 q.M	Verses 67 should be divided into 1764 and 1765
15*a*	69—76	1767—1774	V. 1768,1769, 1771 q.M	
15*b*	77—82	1775—1780		
16*a*	83—88*a*	1781—1786	V. 1781, q.M	V. 67 not numbered
16*b*	88*bcd*—92	1786—1790	V. 1787, q.M	
17*a*	93—96+no number	1791—1795	V. 1791, 1794, q.M	
17*b*	2—4+99+ 200+21+202 *a*	1796—1802	V. 1796, 1798, 1800, q.M	
18*a*	202*bcd*—204+ 5+9*ab*	1802—1809	V. 1804, 1806, 1809, q.M	
18*b*	9*cd*—13+1*abc*	1809—1814	V. 1812, q.M; 1814, q.Pad (308)	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
19*a*	1*d*—6	1814–1819	V. 1817, q.M	
19*b*	7—12	1820–1825	V. 1820, 1823, q.M	
20*a*	13—17	1826–1830	V. 1826, 1828, q.M	
20*b*	18—23*ab*	1831–1836	V. 1832, 1835, q.M	
21*a*	23*cd*—28	1836—1841	V. 1836, 1838, 1839, q.M	
21*b*	29—34	1842–1847	V. 1842, 1844, q.M	
22*a*	35—39	1848—1852	V. 1850, q.M	
22*b*	40—44	1853–1857	V. 1855, q.M	43 marked as 42 *bis*
23*a*	45—49*abc*	1858—1862		45 not numbered
23*b*	49*d*—58*ab*	1862—1871	V. 1866 q.M	
24*a*	58*cd*—67*a*	1871–1880	V. 1880 q.M	
24*b*	67*bcd*—73+ 1*a*	1880–1887	V. 1881 q.M	
25*a*	1*bcd*—2+1+ no number+ 74—76*ab*	1887—1894	V. 1887, 1889 q.M	
25*b*	76*cd*—80	1894—1898	V. 1894, 1895 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
26*a*	81–85	1899–1903	V. 1899 q.M	
26*b*	86–90*abc*	1904–1908	V. 1905, 1907, 1908 q.M.	
27*a*	90*d* + no number + 92–97 *abc*	1908–1914		+1909 *bis*
27*b*	97*d*–102 + 3	1914–1920		
28*a*	4 + 1–6*ab*	1921–1927		
28*b*	6*cd*–11*abc*	1927–1932		
29*a*	11*d*–16 + no number + 14*a*	1932–1939	V. 1936 q.M	
29*b*	14*bcd*–17 + 28–29	1939–1943		
30*a*	29*bcd* + 20–25*ab*	1943–1950	V. 1947 q.M	
30*b*	25*cd*–30*a*	1950–1955	V. 1953 q.M	
31*a*	30*bcd*–35 + 37*abc*	1955–1961	V. 1957, 1960 q.M	V. 34 not numbered
31*b*	37*d*–39–42 + 42 *bis*–43*a*	1961–1965	V, 1965 q.M	
32*a*	43*bcd*–48	1965–1971	V. 1970 q.M	+1965 *bis*
32*b*	49–53*ab*	1972–1976	V. 1973 q.M	
33*a*	53*cd*–55 + 2 not numbered + 57*ab*	1976–1981	V. 1976, 1977 q.M	
33*b*	57*cd*–62*ab*	1981–1986	V. 1983 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses qo-ted in	Remarks
34*a*	62*cd*—67*ab*	1986—1991	V. 1987, 1991 q.M	
34*b*	67*cd*—73*a*	1991—1996	V. 1994 q.S (484)	
35*a*	73*bcd*—81	1996—2005	V. 1999, 2000 q.M	V. 75 not numbered
35*b*	80—85*ab*	2006—2011	V. 2007 q.M	
36*a*	85*cd*—90	2011—2016	V. 2014 q.M	
36*b*	91—96*ab*	2017—2022	V.2017 q.Kav (95); V. 2022 q.M.	
37*a*	96*cd*—102+ 102 *bis* 103 *ab*	2022—2030	V. 2023 q.M	
37*b*	103*cd*—108 *abc*	2030—2035	V. 2032, 2033 q.M	
38*a*	108*d*—112+ 213—214*a*	2035—2041	V. 2037, 2039 q.M	
38*b*	214*bcd*—216 +no number (2 verses)	2041—2045	V. 2043 q.M	

Fol.	Verses	New Numbers	Verses quoted in	Remarks
39*a*	225--230*ab*	2046—2051		
39*b*	230*cd*—237*ab*	2051—2058	V. 2054 q.M	
40*a*	237*cd*—243*ab*	2058—2063	V. 2060, 2061 *bis*, 2063 q.M	241 omitted; 2061 *bis*
40*b*	243*cd*—248*ab*	2063—2068		
41*a*	248*cd*—253*ab*	2068—2073		
41*b*	253*cd*—288*ab*	2073--2078	V. 2077 q.M	
42*a*	258*cd*—263*ab*	2078—2083		
42*b*	263*cd*—268	2083--2089	V. 2087 q.M	
43*a*(?)	269—270	2090—2091		

ANNEX II : LIST OF AUTHORS AND WORKS QUOTED IN THE SUBHĀṢITAHĀRĀVALĪ*

1. Akbarīkālidāsa (4) 12, 121, 268, 269

2. Anantadeva (1) 371

3. Abhinanda (1) 67

4. Abhinavagupta (1) 2075

5. Amara or Amaruka or Ama°. The text gives these names probably to the same person—Amaru (not Amarasiṁha), although most texts ascribed to him are not found in the Amaruśataka text; only those printed in italics are quoted among the amaruśataka verses (*Our Heritage* II. 1; pp. 18-38) (18) : 1610, 1618, 1623, 1650, 1685, 1734, 1745, 1759, 1769, 1773, 1775, 1797, 1888, *1954* (Amaruka=95), *1959* (Amaraka=155), *1992* (Amara=82), 2019 (Ama°=93), 2064 (Ama°=98).

6. Arasīṭhakkura (2) quoted either as Arasīteṭhakura : 1746 or as Asarasīṭhakkura : 1599.

7. Argaṭa (1) : 465 also so quoted in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī (VS).

8. Arjunavarmadeva (1) : 419.

9. Ākapauli (?) (1) : 2081.

10. Ākāśapoli (1) : 1815.

11. Ādityabhaṭṭa (1) : 809.

12. Ānandavardhana (from Kaśmīr 9th century) (2) : 81, 132.

13. Indrakavi (3) : 8, 15, 16.

14. Utkala (1) : 166.

15. Utprekṣāvallabha (4) : 1701, 1762, 2022, 2061. Probably identical with Utprekṣā (1701), Utprekṣāvabha (2061) and even Utmekṣāvillasa (1762).

16. Umāpatidhara (3) : 358, 911, 1058.

17. Kaṭaṅkoddhāra (1-2) 326, 327 (?).

18. Kapola (–kavi) (2) : 1636, 1638.

19. Kamalākaraśeṣa (1) : 127.

20. Karṇa probably identical with Karṇabhūṣāṇa, an *alaṁkāra* work (Karṇa is also an old poet mentioned already in Hāla's Sattasaī) (1) : 1631.

21. Kaviratna (6) : 158, 171, 172, 1622, 1717, 1747.

22. Kāmandaka (1) : 1594 (=KN 1.50).

23. Kāla (?), Kāla is also mentioned in Hāla's Sattasaī (1) : 1118.

24. Kālidāsa (7) : most of the verses quoted in SH. are also ascribed to Kālidāsa in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and only three are found in his works (7) : 89, 263, 314, 340 1609 (=Kum. 1. 47), 1648 (=Kum. 1. 44), 1795 (=Vik. 1. 10).

25. (Bhadanta) Kumāra, seems to be a Buddhist or Jainist (1) : 805.

26. Kumāradāsa, all from Janakīharaṇam (3) : 1703 (=1.34), 1743 (=1.32), 1766 (=1.29).

27. Vidyāva(dā)ta(?)-Kulīna (1) : 976.

28. Kūrma-Varāha (see also Purāṇa) : 90.

29. Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, *guru* of king Sambhāji, contemporaneous to Harikavi (6) : 66, 124, 396, 397, 398, 416.

30. Kṛṣṇabhaṭṭa (2) : 312, 1616.

31. Kṛṣṇamiśra, author of Prabodhacandrodaya (2) : 850, 1071 (=Prab. 4.19).

32. Kokapaṇḍita different from Kokkoka (1) : 1603.

33. Kṣemasiṁhācārya (1) : 993.

34. Kṣemendra, a great part of Cārucaryā (Ca.) is quoted in SH. : (41) : 116, 359 (Darpadalana 3.14), 360 (Darpadalana 3.68), 522, 854, 866, 900, 907, 932 (Kalāvilāsa 2.46), 951, 956, 992, 1006, 1056, 1066, 1079, 1080, 1270 (Ca. 2), 1271 (Ca. 6), 1272 (Ca. 10), 1273 (Ca. 11), 1274 (Ca. 18), 1275 (Ca. 21), 1276 (Ca. 26), 1277 (Ca. 29), 1278 (Ca. 30), 1279 (Ca. 31), 1280, (Ca. 39), 1281 (Ca. 39), 1282 (Ca. 43), 1283 (cf. Ca. 41), 1284 (Ca. 52), 1285 (Ca. 55), 1285 *bis* (Ca. 56), 1286 (Ca. 57), 1287 (Ca. 59), 1288 (Ca. 80), 1289 (Ca. 83) 1291, 1292, 2018.

35. Khañjaka (-kavi) (?) (2) : 1432, 1433.
36. Khoravaṭabhaṭṭa (1) : 1017.
37. Gaṅgeśvaro'pādhyāya (1) : 17.
38. Gaṇapati (?) (2) ; 112, 115.
39. (Śrī) Gadādhara (caraṇa) (?) (3) : 1026, 1027, 1028.
40. Gadyapadya (1) : 111.
41. Garuḍa (?) (2) : 1063, 1064.

Gītagovinda see Jayadeva.

42. Gotrānanda (2) : 1673, 1785.
43. Gopīnātha-paṇḍita (4) : 176, 244 (?), 245, 257.
44. (Sūcī) Gobhaṭṭa (3) ; 775, 797, 958.
45. Govardhana (1) : 1438.
46. Cakrapāṇīkavi (2) : 122, 324.
47. Candracūḍa (1) : 53.
48. (Srī) Candradeva (1) : 316.
49. Cāṭeśvara (1) : 1803.
50. Cāṇakya, all from the Cāṇakya-Nīti Text Tradition (3) : 383 (=1301), 384 (=1085), 876 (=266).
51. (Kavi) Cūḍāmaṇi (1) : 394.
52. Chamichamikāratna (?) (1) : 2085.
53. Chittipa, identical with Citipa (1) : 393.

54. Jagannāthadeva, probaby different than Paṇḍita rāja Jagannātha (1) : 198.

55. Jaghanasthalīghaṭaka (1) : 1761.

56. Janārdanabhaṭṭa (1) : 1018.

57. Jayadeva or Jayadevakavi; some verses are specifically attributed to Gīta Govinda (GG.) and these are found in GG., but one not ascribed to GG. is also found in GG.; others are not from GG. (10) : 13 (a. GG. =GG. 1. 11), 289, 308, 325 (a. G.G.=GG. 1. 4), 407, 408, 457, 1784, 1802 (a. GG.=GG. 3. 13), 2080 (=GG. 3.11).

58. Jayanta (1) : 1908.

59. Jayamādhava (1) : 419.

60. Jñānaṅkura (2) : 995, 996.

61. Ḍiṇḍima or Ḍiṇḍimakavi (3) : 1674, 1723, 1752.

62. Taruṇabāṇa, perhaps identical with Bāṇa (1) : 2056.

63. Trilocana (2) : 438, 439.

64. Trivikrama, most verses occur in Nalacampū (Na.) : (9) : 311, 372, 471 (=Na. 1. 23), 529 (=Na. 1. 9), 1637 (=Na. 3. 32), 1828, 2043 (=Na. 5. 20), 2044 (=Na. 5.21), 2089 (=Na. 7. 49).

65. Dakṣināyana (1) : 153 *ter*.

66. Daṇḍin (1) : 1960 (=Kāvyādarśa 2.141).

67. Damati (2) : 1462, 1463 (cf. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche* 3998).

68. Daridra (1) : 888.

69. Devabodhi (?) (1) : 1783.

70. Deveśvara (2) : 436, 541.

71. Dhanaṁjaya (1) : 329.

72. (Srī) Dhanada (6) : 295, 435, 470, 829, 830, 1676.

73. Dhanapāla (3) : 91, 103, 342.
74. Dharmāśoka (1) : 404.
75. Dhavalaharikavi, perhaps identical with Harikavi (1) : 2016.
76. Dhairyamiśra (?) (1) : 2090.
77. Nandapaṇḍita (?) (1) : 1025.
78. Navaratna, the whole poem is included in SH (11) : 1393 to 1403.
79. Nācirāja (1) : 1702.
80. (Srī) Nārāyaṇagurucaraṇa (?) (1) : 221.
81. Nidrādaridra (1) : 2073.
82. Paṇḍitarāja, probably ident'cal with Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha; see also Jagannāthadeva; most of the verses are well known Paṇḍitarāja's verses; Haradatta Sharma who quoted a great part of the verses could not identify verses 898 and 899 (p. 485) (7) : 321 (=Bhāminī-vilāsa, Śānt. 26), 322, 433 (=Prāṇābharaṇam 1), 434, (=Bhāminī-vilāsa, Sānt. 27 and Rasagaṅgādhara 82), 898 (=Lakṣmīlaharī 4), 899 (=Lakṣmīlaharī 3), 1569 (=Bhāminīvilāsa, Post. 63).
83. Pīyūṣavarṣa (1) : 2086.
84. Punarupaṇḍita (1) : 770.
85. Purāṇa, also Nānāpurāṇa and see Kūrmavarāha (18) : 143,144, 145, 565 to 575, 827 (a. Nānāpurāṇa=Garuḍa-purāṇa 114.69), 828 (a. Nānā-purāṇa=Garuḍa-purāṇa 114.71), 1486, 1487.
86. Pulinda (1) : 315.
87. Puṣkarākṣa (also quoted in Padyāvalī) (1) : 1909.
88. Puṣṭiṅkara (1); 1976.
89. Bahila (1) : 1013.

90. Bāṇa, Śrī Bāṇa and Bāṇakavi; see also Taruṇabāṇa (8) : 109, 123, 355 (=Harṣacarita 1.5), 412 (=Harṣacarita 1.8), (450), 451, 851 (=Harṣacarita 7.1), 1598.

91. Bālasarasvatī (1) : 48.

92. Bilhaṇa or Bihlaṇa mostly from Vikramāṅkadevacarita (Vi.) books 1 and 8 (19) : 299 320, 411, 472, 475 (Vi. 1. 18), 477 (Vi. 1. 29), 1611 (Vi. 8. 79), 1624 (Vi. 8. 71), 1635, 1739 (Vi. 8. 37), 1749 (Vi. 8. 30), 1771 (Vi. 8. 10), 1774 (Vi. 8. 6), 1789 (Vi. 8. 88), 1829 (Vi. 8. 87), 1857, 1902, 2023 (also ascribed to Bilhaṇa by Jalhaṇa in his Sūktimuktāvalī 142.9), 2077.

93. (Śrī) Bopadevapaṇḍita (or Vopadeva) (1) : 317.

94. Bhartṛhari or Śrī Bhartṛhari or Bhartṛ° (28) : 261 (=300), 283 (=15), 298 (=427), 370 (=357), 372 *bis* (=87), 376 (=70), 510, 521 (=14), 542 (=265 , 736, 737 (=565), 868 (=26), 881 (=39), 896 (=25), 901 (=51), 979 (=34), 1010 (=28), 1055 (=291), 1061 (=149), 1404 (=152), 1405 (=352), 1406 (=154), 1407 (=172), 1408 (=207), 1583 (=287), 1588 (=113), 1794, 1808 (=131).

95. Bhallaṭa (1) : 2044.

96. Bhavadeva (1) : 1576.

97. Bhavabhūti or Śrī Bhavabhūti; see also Mālatīmādhava (6) : 114 (=Māl. 1. 2), 264, 986 *bis* (=Uttara. 6 14), 1019 (=Śākuntala° 7. 17), 2055 (=Māl. 1. 22), 2078 (=Māl. 9. 12), 2083 (=Māl. 9. 52).

98. (Śrī) Bhāgavata or Bhāgavata Vyāsa, or Śrīmad Bhāgavad Vyāsa, or Śrīmad Vyāsa Bhāgavata (15) : 141, 142, 192, 744, 934, 969, 997, 1009, 1015, 1054, (1067-69), 1070, 1480.

99. Bhānukara or Bhānu° or Bhānuka° (11) : 22, 43, 71, 473, 1672, 1682, 1790, 1894, 1975, 1986, 1994.

100. (Vaidya) Bhānupaṇḍita (2) : 1081, 1380.

101. Bhānuṣeṇa (1) : 1984.

102. Bhāravi, all from Kirātārjunīya (2) : 989 (=2. 19), 991 (=11. 73).

103. Bhāsa (2) 110, 1689.

104. (Dolaṁtikā) Bhīma (1) : 1968.

105. Bhīmasiṁha (1) : 1860.

106. Bherībhāṅkāra (9) : 23, 98, 99, 118 (?), 119 (?), 120, 246, 247, 248.

107. Bhoja (there is also mention of Bhojaprabandha by Rājaśekhara (?); cf P. Peterson, *Second Report*, p. 59) (2) : 1508, 1509.

108. Mañjughoṣa (1) : 1044.

109. Madana (2) : 69, 305.

110. Madālasā (1) 606.

111. (Śrī) Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (1) : 259.

112. Mahānāṭaka (does not appear in the ChSS. edition) (2) : 105, 117.

113. Mahābhārata (1) : 564 (does not appear in the Poona edition).

114. (Mahī) śvarapurīpāda (2) : 170, 195.

115. Māgha or Māghakavi (almost all in Siśupālavadha) (6) : 550 (=1. 26), 873 (=9. 6), 972 (cf. ZDMG 27. 73), 983 *bis* (=2. 46), 985 *bis* (=2. 45) (cf. fol. 87 *a*; Nos. 89*,90*), 991 *bis* (=2. 49).

116. Mādhavapurī (?) (1) : 178.

117. Mālatīmādhava (see also Bhavabhūti; not found in Māl.) (1) 1716.

118. Mukunda-bhaṭṭa (1) : 395.

119. (Śrī) Murāri, probably identical with Murācarya (mostly all from Anargharāghava) (9) : 24 (=7. 112), 25 (=7. 53), 92 (=7. 49), 282, 318 (KM 5 fn. 1 p. 1), 880, 1675 (=7. 80), 1817 (=3. 5), 1907 (a. Murācārya).

120. Yaśovarman (?) (1) : 2082.

121. Raghunātho' pādhyāya (1) : 1820.

122. Raghūpādhyāya (1) : 183.

123. Ratihara (1) : 1577 (=Ratirahasya 1. 2).

124. Ratnabhadra (1) : 2046.

125. Ratnākara (2) : 1062, 1744.

126. Ravigupta (all in ABORI 48. 147-160) (5-6) : 526 (=67), 745 (=56), 776 (=14), 796 (=68), 959 (=47). Cf. 1178 (=17 in SH. not attributed to Ravigupta).

127. (Śrī) Rāghavacitanya (1) : 285.

128. Rājaputravijayapāla (1) : 1792.

129. Rājaśekhara or Rājase° or Rāja° (29) : 20 (=Karp. 1. 4), 284, 302, 310, 330-337(?), 338(?), 339(?), 373 (=Bālar. 1. 1), 415, 446-449 (?), 524. 1778 (=Viddhaś. 1. 14 and Bālar. 2. 17), 1830 (=Bālabh. 29), 1848 (=Bālar. 4. 43), 1858 (=Bālar. 4. 44), 1970, 1983 (=Bālar. 5.1), 2051 (=Karp. 1. 4), 2074 (=Viddhaś. 2. 2).

130. (Śrī) Rāmacandra (bhaṭṭa) or Rāmacan° (6) : 55, 60, 83, 1607, 1726, 1733.

131. Rāmajit-Paṇḍita (1) : 1758.

132. Riṁsuka (1) 960.

133. Rudra or Rudrakavi (6) : 277, 350 (Śṛṅg. 1. 7), 1831 (Śṛṅg. 1. 49), 1856 (Śṛṅg. 1. 30), 1887, 2017.

134. (Śrī) Rudrabhaṭṭa (1) : 350.

135. Lakṣmaṇa (1) : 10.

136. Lakṣmaṇakhaṇḍapraśasti (?) (1) : 97.

137. Lakṣmaṇaṭhakura (1) : 2063.

138. Lakṣmīdhara (3) : 148, 212, 1727.

139. Loṣṭasarva, perhaps identical with Loṣṭasarvañña (1) : 344.

140. Vatsarāja (1) : 476.

141. Vararuci (1) : 1393 (?).

Varāha see also Kūrmavarāha.

142. Varāhamihira (2) 42, 710.

143. Vallabhadeva or Valla--deva (11) : 354, 387, 388, 417, 463, 527, 772, 773, 774, 798, 1005.

144. Vācaspati (–bhaṭṭa) (1) 971.

145. Vāṇikaṇṭhābharaṇa (2) : 1997, 2087.

146. Vāṇivilāsa (1) : 1814.

147. Vādīśvarakañcana (1) : 44.

148. Vālmiki (not Vālmīki) (1) : 1765.

149. Vikaṭanitambā (1) : 452.

150. Vikramāditya (1) : 1799.

151. Vijjāya, probably identical with Vidyā (3) : 345, 867, 1655.

152. Vijñāneśvara (1) : 14.

153. Viṭa (?) (1) : 1900.

154. Vidyāpati (1) : 410.

155. Vidyāveṇī (?) (1) : 1424.

156. Viśākhadeva; most of the verses from Mudrārākṣasa (Mu.) (3) : 911 (=Mu. 3. 5), 1058 (=Mu. 3. 16), 1738.

157. Viṣṇuśarma (2) : 549, 559 (=Pañcatantra PT. 1. 43).

158. Vīryamitra (1) : 1937.

159. Vedagupta (1) : 2057.

160. Vaidyavallabha (1) : 131.

161. Śakavṛddhi or Śakavṛ° or Śaka° (4) : 1688, 1692, 1768, 2004.

162. (Śrī) Saṅkara (°ācarya) (3) : 125, 208, 1488.

163. Śaṅkuka (1) : 2015.

164. Śaṅkhadhara (1) : 303.

165. Śārṅgadhara (author of Sārṅgadhara-paddhati) (3) : 21,304 (=ŚP. 169), 1855 (=ŚP 3755).

166. Śivasvāmin (none of the verses in the Kapphiṇābhyudaya) (3) : 94, 431, 2014.

Sucī Gobhaṭṭa see Gobhaṭṭa.

167. Śrī Harṣa (2) : 153 *bis* (=Naiṣ. 2. 114), 874 (=Ratn. 1. 6).

168. Śrutadhhararama (1) : 771.

169. Saṁjaya (1) : 1913.

170. Sarasvatīkuṭumba (?) (1) : 562.

171. Sarvaka (1) : 167.

172. Sarvānanda (1) : 165.

173. Sāraṅga (1) : 64.

174. Sarvabhauma (1) : 18.

175. Sīmantatilaka (?) (1) : 1601, 1602.

176. Sundaracārya (1) : 273.

177. Suba(n)dhu (4) : 386, 760, 761, 795.

178. Subhādra (?) (1) : 343.

179. Sūktisahasra or Sūkti (5) 45 (=JS 30. 75), 46 (=JS. 30. 78), 385 (=JS. 41. 38), 1798 (=JS. 191. 104) 1985 (a. Sūkti=JS. 136. 25). All references in JS. attributed also to Sūktisahasra (see para 14).

180. Somakavi (1) : 288.

181. Somanātha (praśasti) (?) (1) : 106.

182. Someśvarabhaṭṭa (1) : 1751.

183. Somajidbhaṭṭa (or °bhadra) (1) : 275.

184. (Śrī) Hanūmata (or Hanu°) almost all from the Khaṇḍapraśasti (9) : 7, 39 (=Kh. 28), 40 (=Kh. 29), 41 (=Kh. 30), 49 (=Kh, 49), 50 (=Kh. 55), 56 (=Kh. 63), 139 (=Kh. 66), 151 (=Kh. 65).

185. Harikavi perhaps identical with Dhavalaharikavi (see above) (41) : 2, 19, 33, 34, 51, 57, 76, 95 *bis*, 161-162 (Samāhartṛ), 177, 193, 196-197, (Samāhartṛ), 222, 292, 293, 323, 328, 362, 377, 399-403 (?), 454-456 (?), 474, 545, 546, 777, 778, 780, 1024, 1469, 1619, 1639, 1938, 2048.

186. Harihadra (1) : 363.

187. Harihara (4) : 65, 357, 364, 1678 (see also below No. 188).

188. Harihara-bhaṭṭa, possibly identical with Harihara (1) : 80.

189. (Śrī) Hetu (?) (1) : 1308.

BHAṬṬA JAYANTA'S THEORY OF THE TEST OF THE TRUTH OF KNOWLEDGE

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Allahabad

What is the criterion of truth by which we may be able to convince ourselves of the validity of our judgments ? To answer this question the Western philosophers have come out with two main theories of the test of the truth of knowledge, known as correspondence and coherence. In Indian philosophy the criterion of knowing the validity or invalidity of cognition figures under the names of *Parataḥprāmāṇya* and *Svataḥprāmāṇya*. According to the former we have to resort to outside test for the verification of the validity or invalidity of our judgment but according to the latter the very conditions that bring forth valid or invalid congnition make known, as the case may be, the validity or invalidity of that judgment.

Symbolically if 'a' represents validity, 'b' invalidity 'c' self evidence and 'd' extrinsic evidence, the different Indian theories may be mathematically exhibited in the following way :

a c b c : Sāṁkhya View
a d b d : Nyāya View
a c b d : Mīmāṁsā View
a d b c : Buddhist View

Worked out in a simple statement the above calculation means that the Sāṁkhyas maintain that both validity and invalidity are inherent in the cognition itself.

Naiyāyikas on the other hand hold that both are proved by something else, i. e. by extraneous causes as inference, etc. The Buddhists are of the opinion that invalidity inheres in all cognitions but validity is established by something else. The Mīmāṁsakas and the Vedāntins believe that validity is self-evident and invalidity is determined by extraneous causes.[1]

Jayanta follows the general Nyāya view that the validity and invalidity of a cognition depends upon extraneous factors. Let us see how he formulates his theory and on what grounds does he refute the arguments of his opponents.[2]

(a) *Jayanta's Theory of Parataḥ prāmāṇya*

Jayanta, like his fellow Naiyāyikas maintains that truth and falsehood both are extrinsic to knowledge in respect of genesis and ascertainment. It is interesting that the Nyāya theory of truth coincides partly with the Buddhist view in respect of extrinsic nature of truth and partly with the Bhāṭṭa view in respect of the extrinsic nature of falsehood. Like other Naiyāyikas, Jayanta is of the view that the specific features responsible for the production of truth and falsehood are the merits (*guṇa*) and demerits (*doṣa*), which add the qualities of truth and falsehood respectively to valid and invalid forms of cognition. Hence, in his opinion truth and falsehood are not intrinsic or natural but extrinsic or adventitious. The ascertainment of truth according to the Naiyāyikas depends on some extraneous considerations just as its production depends on some extraneous factors. He further states that the fruitful activity is the test of truth

1. *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, P.557 (Chaukhamba edn. ; *The Vedanta* by R.D. Ranade

2. *Nyāyamañjari*, Part I, PP. 155—160.

and fruitless activity is the test of falsehood. In other words knowledge is true if it fulfils an extra condition known as *pravṛtti*.

Jayanta is aware of the fact that the Mīmāṁsakas may object to the theory of extrinsic validity of knowldge on the ground that if the truth of a judgment is determined at a later stage, then either it is open to the charge of mutual dependence (*cakraka*) or it is futile like placing the cart before the horse. Jayanta, therefore, points out that there are two classes of objects, viz. transcendental and secular. The people move to attain the transcendental objects when these objects are definitely ascertained as true. With regard to the secular objects, people move for their attainment when they think that the truth of the judgment is highly probable. Similarly when they think that the falsehood of a judgment is highly probable they refrain from attaining it. Jayanta, however, accepts that the ascertainment of the truth of a judgement about an object through successful activity is futile as far as that particular object is concerned, but it is useful in the sense that it helps us in determining the truth of similar instances of knowledge in future. For example, when a reliable person advises us about certain object, we move for it. When we attain the object, we find that the statement of that reliable person is true. This knowledge helps us to determine the truth of the Vedas or other scriptures which deal with the transcendental objects.

The Mīmāṁsakas may maintain that the truth of a judgment cannot be determined afterwards, since judgment lasts only two moments and that when the judgment ceases to exist at the next moment, it cannot be ascertained extrinsically. But Jayanta points out that the

Mīmāṁsakas themselves maintain that the falsehood of a judgment is extrinsically determined. As the false judgment according to them is transitory, then how do they determine it ? If they recall the false judgment in memory and then judge it extrinsically, the same method is equally applicable in ascertaining the truth of a true judgment.

The compound word *Pravṛttisāmarthya* has been explained by the old Naiyāyikas in two ways viz., (1) the confirmation of the knowledge of an object on the basis of a pragmatic test or (2) the discovery of the unique property of an object. But Jayanta does not agree with these interpretations. He quotes Vātsyāyana to emphasise that he too has a different view of this term. According to him *pravṛtti* means 'movement' ad *sāmarthya* means capability of attaining something. As a rejoinder to this interpretation, the opponents of the Nyāya may maintain that if one fact requires an extrinsic test for its validity, it would lead to regressus ad infinitum. Jayanta is alive to this objection. So he tries to repudiate it on the ground that human behaviour based upon universal experience goes against the contention of the opponents of the Nyāya. If the people move for an object and obtain it, they do not feel any necessity of examining the truth of the experience again. For instance, one sees water and judges it as water. This judgment prompts him to move. But he also knows that similar judgment takes place even when he misapprehends the mirage for water. So, with the judgment that 'this is water', a doubt about its validity also arises in his mind. This doubt is removed by quenching thirst or by bathing etc., since he practically experiences the presence of water. Here no further test is required to verify

the practical experience. If, on the other hand, his knowledge turns out to be illusory, then it is a case of extrinsic test of invalidity of cognition. So, Jayanta asserts that the theory of extrinsic validity of knowledge does not involve the fault of regressus ad infinitum. It may be argued that the act of bathing etc. could also be performed in dream. But Jayanta points out that every one is aware of the difference between a waking consciousness and a dream-consciousness.

With regard to the objection raised by the Mīmāṁsakas as to why the Naiyāyikas do not verify the condition of the initial judgment instead of scrutinising only the conditions of the knowledge of practical efficiency, Jayanta's reply is that even if their suggestion is adopted, it would neither support the hypothesis of instrinsic validity nor refute the theory of extrinsic validity. The people become very much conscious to get the fruit of their knowledge, but they are not found to have such eagerness for scrutinising the condition of their judgment. That is why the conditions of the knowledge of practical efficiency are examined. We may compare here '*pravṛtti-samvāda*' of the Naiyāyikas with the *arthakriyākāritva* of the Buddhists. For the Buddhists, that knowledge is valid, which is conducive to fruitful activity. But the Naiyāyikas maintain that the criterion of validity consists in correspondence and satisfaction, i. e., objective verification and subjective utility. "Correspondence to reality" as Dr. R. D. Ranade puts it, "is a constitutive character of truth, while satisfaction comes in only when it is to be tested. Correspondence is thus the ratio essendi of truth while utility is only ratio cognoscendi. Truth may exist even if it is not put to practical use Practicality is just a means of subsequent verification."

Moreover, whenever one has the knowledge of practical efficiency during his waken state, he finds that there is perfect correspondence of his knowledge with its object. As he has no previous experience of discordance between such an experience and its object, the doubt does not arise in his mind. And when there is no doubt, there is no need of ascertaining the truth of the concerned judgment. It is perhaps the Jaina thinker Akalaṅka, who holds that the truth of the knowledge of an object, which has been repeatedly cognised, is self-evident and that the truth of a judgment which is not repeatedly cognised is extrinsically determined. But Jayanta takes pity on him saying that this proud fellow does not mean what he says. Actually repetition gives us an opportunity to ascertain our experience. So, the truth of such repeated observations also is determined by the successful movement. It is not in any way self-evident. Jayanta further states that verification is not an endless process, because the knowledge of successful activity does not stand in need of further verification. All knowledge is a means to some practical end and hence it needs to be treated in order to attain practical success. The knowledge of the result, on the other hand, ends in itself, not leading to further result, and hence there is no need to test its truth.

Jayanta accepts the view that there are some cases of knowledge whose truth appears to be self-evident. The knowledge of familiar objects, e.g. my house, my body etc., is known as true immediately at the time when it arises and we do not feel the need of varifying it by successful activity. Is then such knowledge intrinsically true? Jayanta's answer is that the knowledge of truth in such cases is conditioned by familiarity. Therefore, it is not self-evident though it arises quickly. The truth of

the knowledge of a new object is ascertained on the ground of practical success to which it leads if it is true, when a new object is cognized repeatedly, it becomes familier and we need not test the truth of its cognition on subsequent occasions in the same way in which we tested it when it was new. Truth in such cases is known through inference based on the knowledge which by itself is neutral i.e. it is not known to be true or false. If it could be possible there would be no disappointment in practical activities. On this basis also truth and falsehood are not self-evident, they are always known through inference.

(b) *Jayanta's Criticism of Svataḥ prāmāṇya*

What does the compound word *svataḥprāmāṇya* mean? Does it mean that the truth of a judgment emanates from the judgment itself or does it imply that a judgment reveals its own truth to itself? The second alternative is wrong, since it is against the rule of logic. For instance, in the perceptual knowledge such as 'a blue object is blue', the judgment is true, but the question is whether the perception reveals its own truth or not. The answer according to Jayanta is in the negative, because perception is here simply a knowing process. And a process cannot grasp its own self. It cannot even reveal the truth of its resulting judgment, since the truth is in no way connected with the external sense organ. Even the inner perception is not competent to ascertain the truth of the resulting form. The inner perception is not experienced when the illumination of an object takes place. thus, the knowledge that 'this is blue' is not experienced to be immediately followed by another judgment that the antecedent is true. Therefore, it is clear that perception fails to grasp the truth of its own judgment.

The inference also cannot reveal the truth of the resulting form, since no mark of invariable relation is known to us. Now if it is argued that the above result leads to the inferential knowledge of the truth-knowing process, then the Mīmāṁsakas are to be asked as to whether the mark remain unqualified or it is qualified by the adjective 'true'. In case the first alternative is accepted, then every result, whether true or untrue, will lead to the inference of the truth of a judgment. And in such a situation there is no possibility of any judgment turning out false. Likewise the second alternative also is not tenable, because there is no way to find out the truth of the result. The Mīmāṁsakas may contend that the very experience of an object may be the source of the illumination of that object. For instance, when a blue thing reveals itself as an awareness of blue, it is itself a piece of knowledge. But Jayanta refutes this view stating that in such a situation erroneous cognitions, e. g. of silver in the shell sould also come under the purview of valid knowledge, since awareness of silver is there.

The Mīmāṁsakas may maintain that the truth of a judgment depends upon the knowledge of the absence of its contradictory judgment. But the question is whether this absence of contradictory judgment arises simultaneously with the judgment or it arises afterwards. Jayanta rules out the first alternative holding that in such a case we should have never been baffled, whereas the fact is that many of our judgments are erroneous. This shows that we transact our business even when we are not perfectly certain of our judgment. As regards the contention of the Mīmāṁsakas that even such a judgment is different from doubt, since it does not cause an oscillation between two alternatives, Jayanta points

out that as this uncertain judgment does not furnish the knower with a means to determine the true nature of the object, so it is tantamount to doubt. Jayanta further states that there are examples where a doubt may assume the form of a judgment. For instance, though the p ior judgment that this is silver refers to a single object, yet it is virtually nothing but a doubt. More-ever, it could not have been contradicted after some time if its truth is ascertained. Again, it cannot inspire a person to move, if he knows that the judgment is not true. It can also be proved by an induction: e. g, (1) all movements are preceded by a doubt, (2) this is a movement, (3) therefore, this movement is also preceded by a doubt. The Mīmāṁsakas may again contend that whenever the act of consciousness appears in the mind of a knower, the invariable mark of its truth is revealed to him, whereas no such mark is noticed on the appearance of a false judgment. But Jayanta refutes this view on the ground that the distinct feature of the said mark is not traceable. If it is held by the Mīmāṁsakas that the absence of the misapprehension of untruth constitutes its distinction, then Jayanta points out that they should know that such a distinction may also belong to a false judgment (e. g. of the misapprehension of shell as silver). Jayanta finally makes it clear that what he wants to convey through this discussion is that when a judgment comes into being, it is not ascertained as true. In other words a judgment does not carry its own truth alongwith itself. So, he comes to the conclusion that the knowledge is not self-evident and all the arguments put forth by the Mīmāṁsaka do not appear to have cut much ice. Jayanta objects to the first alternative on the ground that the truth of a judgment being an event in time, is an effect and that every effect has a cause diff-

erent from itself. The truth of a judgment thus, cannot be the effect and its own cause at the same time. The Mīmāṁsakas may contend that the cause of a judgement does not exist apart from the conditions of its existence and that it does not depend upon an extra property. But Jayanta refutes this argument holding that true judgment is produced by a cause which receives the assistance of an extra good quality. What Jayanta wants to prove is that a true judgment is not produced by the bare cause of consciousness. As a false judgment is generated by a consciousness which is accompanied by some defect. A true judgement is accompanied by some good property. So, Jayanta asserts that a cause which is assisted neither by a quality nor by a defect, does not exist. With regard to the contention of the Mīmāṁsakas that the instrument of a true judgment does not depend upon any thing else to discharge its own function, Jayanta points out that it is true that the collocation of conditions produces its effect without depending upon any thing else. But it does not mean that the collection is conscious of its own power. It, in fact, depends on some other factor to verify the truth of its efficiency. Jayanta further states that the contention of the Mīmāṁsakas that a judgment does not depend upon outside factors to determine its own truth is wrong, since when the initial judgment arises in our mind, we do not definitely know that it is true. It is only after some time that the truth, say, of the apprehension of 'blue' is ascertained. The factor that ascertains the truth of a judgment, is the successful movement (*pravṛttisāmarthya*) that follows it.

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PALLAVA GAṄGĀDHARA*

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Near the summit of the Rock Fort hill at Tiruchirapalli, there is a cave-temple created in the 7th century A. D. by the Pallava king Mahendra I. His craftsmen carved a large panel representing Śiva Gaṅgādhara on the living rock which forms the western wall of the cave-temple. In the art history of the Tamil country, this carving marks the very earliest extant, large stone sculptured panel representing a deity.

On the two pillars—actually, pilasters, which frame this imposing carving—there is a famous inscription of king Mahendra. This inscription was translated as far back as 1890 by Dr. E. Hultzsch in the first volume of *South Indian Inscriptions*. His interpretation has, more or less, been followed by scholars up to the present day. However, we wish to present a fresh translation of this inscription which is radically different at three key points.

First, Hultzsch, in his translation says that king Mahendra "placed" an image of Śiva in the cave-temple. The English word "placed" is utterly misleading, and Hultzsch and others have concluded that a separate piece of sculpture was brought from somewhere and "placed" in the cave-temple. But, in fact, the image referred to

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in the inscription is the obvious one : the figure of Gaṅgādhara in the relief panel itself which was carved *in situ*. The Sanskrit word "*nidhāya*" may be translated quite fairly as "made (*in situ*)", and therefore we have freely used the word "carved".

Secondly, when king Mahendra had the figure of Śiva Gaṅgādhara carved in anthropomorphic form, it was given the human form of the king himself. That is, when we look at the Gaṅgādhara panel, we are actually seeing a figure of Śiva which is at the same time a portrait of king Mahendra. This is the significance of the passage in the inscription which claims that in the making of the image of Śiva, the king "became himself immortal together with Śiva before the eyes of the world." We probably see in this figure of Gaṅgādhara not only the bodily and facial likeness of the king, but also his royal dress and ornaments. If this appears vainglorious on the part of the king, one ought to remember that in Śaivism, as in other faiths, the human person, itself, has been taken as a true temple or house of God. This is certainly the idea conveyed in the inscription when it speaks of God being immanent in the king.

Thirdly, in the inscription, the title "Daughter of the Mountain" was taken by Hultzsch, and by everyone else since his day, to refer to Pārvatī. But we wish to submit that in the context of the Gaṅgādhara theme, the "Daughter of the Mountain" is none other than Gaṅga. Gaṅga, as well as Pārvatī, is referred to in literature as the Daughter of the Mountain. And it is extremely significant that in the story of Bhagīratha, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where the theme of Śiva Gaṅgādhara occurs (the very same theme of the carved panel), Gaṅgā is referred to as the elder daughter of the king of the

Himalaya mountains, Himavan. The Sanskrit passage reads :

iyaṁ haimavatī jyeṣṭhā Gaṅgā Himavataḥ sutā.[1]

When these three points of reinterpretation are kept in mind, then the full relevance of the inscription to the Gaṅgādhara panel becomes immediately apparent.

Mahendra's Inscription

The inscription begins on the northern pilaster :

> When king Guṇabhara (Mahendra) carved a stone figure (Gaṅgādhara) in the wonderful stone temple on top of the most splendid of mountains, this king, entitled "*Vidhi*" (the Creator), made "*Sthāṇu*" (Śiva) true to its meaning (stationary), and became himself "*Sthāṇu*" (immortal) together with him (Śiva) before the eyes of the world.
>
> The Lord of this earthly realm, Śatrumalla (Mahendra), made on this mountain a temple for the "Lord of Mountains" (Śiva), the husband of (Gaṅgā) the "Daughter of the King of Mountains", in order to make the name "*Girīśa*" true to its meaning.
>
> When Hara (Śiva) politely asked him: "How could I, while remaining in a temple on earth, see the great land of the Cholas or the river Kāverī ?", king Guṇabhara, whose empire rivals the empire of Manu, assigned to him (Śiva) this mountain-temple which kisses the clouds.
>
> Having joyfully made this figure of Hara which has no equal, and having made it on *top* of the moun-

1. *The Rāmāyaṇa*, Balakāṇḍa, Chapter 42, Śloka 23 (Sanskrit edition published by Jalana Motilal, Gorakhpur, p. 82).

tain, this Puruṣottama (Mahendra), who (like the mountain) bore 'on his head' (that is, incarnate in his features and in his mind) God immanent, thus made the mountain worthy of its loftiness.

The inscription continues on the southern pilaster :

Being afraid that the God who is fond of rivers (Śiva), having seen the Kāverī, whose waters please the eye, who wears a garland of gardens, and who possesses lovely qualities, might fall in love with her (also), the Daughter of the Mountain (Gaṅgā) has left her father's family to reside, I reckon, permanently on this mountain, calling this river (Kāverī) the beloved (wife) of the Pallava (King).

While the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the *liṅga*, let the knowledge (as manifested in the royal favouring of particular religious doctrines) which has turned back (in his reign) from hostile conduct (towards Śaivism) be propagated in this world for a long time by this *liṅga*!

This mountain is, as it were, the diadem of the Chola province, this temple of Hara its chief jewel, and the splendour of Śaṅkara (Śiva) its splendour.

By the stone-chisel a material body (figure) of Satyasandha (Mahendra) was executed, and by the same chisel an eternal embodiment of his fame was produced.

As we have mentioned above, the Gaṅgādhara panel is framed by two pilasters, and it is on these two pilasters that the inscription is engraved.

If one were to find an inscription on the pedestal of a statue, it would be most natural to expect some intimate relation between the statue and the inscription. The same thing should be expected here in the case of the Gaṅgādhara panel. The inscription refers to the panel itself, and to the figures therein, and not to some supposed separate pieces of carving which would have been "placed" at the opposite end of the cave-temple (far away from the inscription).

It has long been known that from a very early period in "Greater India", there existed the practice of creating images of gods which were at the same time portraits of royal persons. In R. C. Majumdar's work on "*Champa*", there is an ancient inscription which explicitly, and unequivocally, mentions this custom. It is the "Hoa-Que stelae inscription" of Bhadravarman III. The relevant passage is translated thus :

> [Ugradevi's] brothers, being of one mind and with the permission of their mother, have erected in the middle of their native place, in the śaka year denoted by '*gagana-dvi-maṅgala*' (820), an image of Sri Mahārudradeva, out of devotion to, and in imitation of the features of their father, named Ajña Sārthavāha, brother of the chief queen of king Śrī Indravarman.
>
> To the north of this they erected, in their native place, in the śaka year denoted by '*kha-vahni-tanu*' (830), an image of Bhagavatī, out of devotion to and in imitation of the features of their mother named Pu Pov ku Rudrapura,. . . who had issued from a family, pure from time immemorial, and who had herself established in the śaka year

> denoted by '*Chandra-Agni-tanu*'—(831), the images of Devī, Gaṇeśa and Kumāra..........[2]

Since the brothers made an image of a goddess in the likeness of their mother's features in the śaka year 830, and we learn from the inscription that the mother was herself alive and active in the following year (śaka 831), we have a record of the practice of making an image of a god in the likeness of a living person.[3]

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, in his book, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, speaking of the cult of deifying royal ancestors, says that the custom existed in Java, and he mentions in particular the portrait of king Erlanga as Vishṇu. Coomaraswamy further adds, however, that in

> India, royal images were indeed often set up in temples, but so far as we know always in human form.[4]

Mahendra's Tiruchirapalli cave-temple inscription reveals, then, that contrary to Coomaraswamy's supposition, the custom of making an anthropomorphic image of a god, which was at the same time a portrait of a person, was practised in the "Mother Land", and has been documented in the early 7th century A.D. We may reasonably assume from this that "Greater India "was only following a custom which had developed at some earlier period in India, itself.

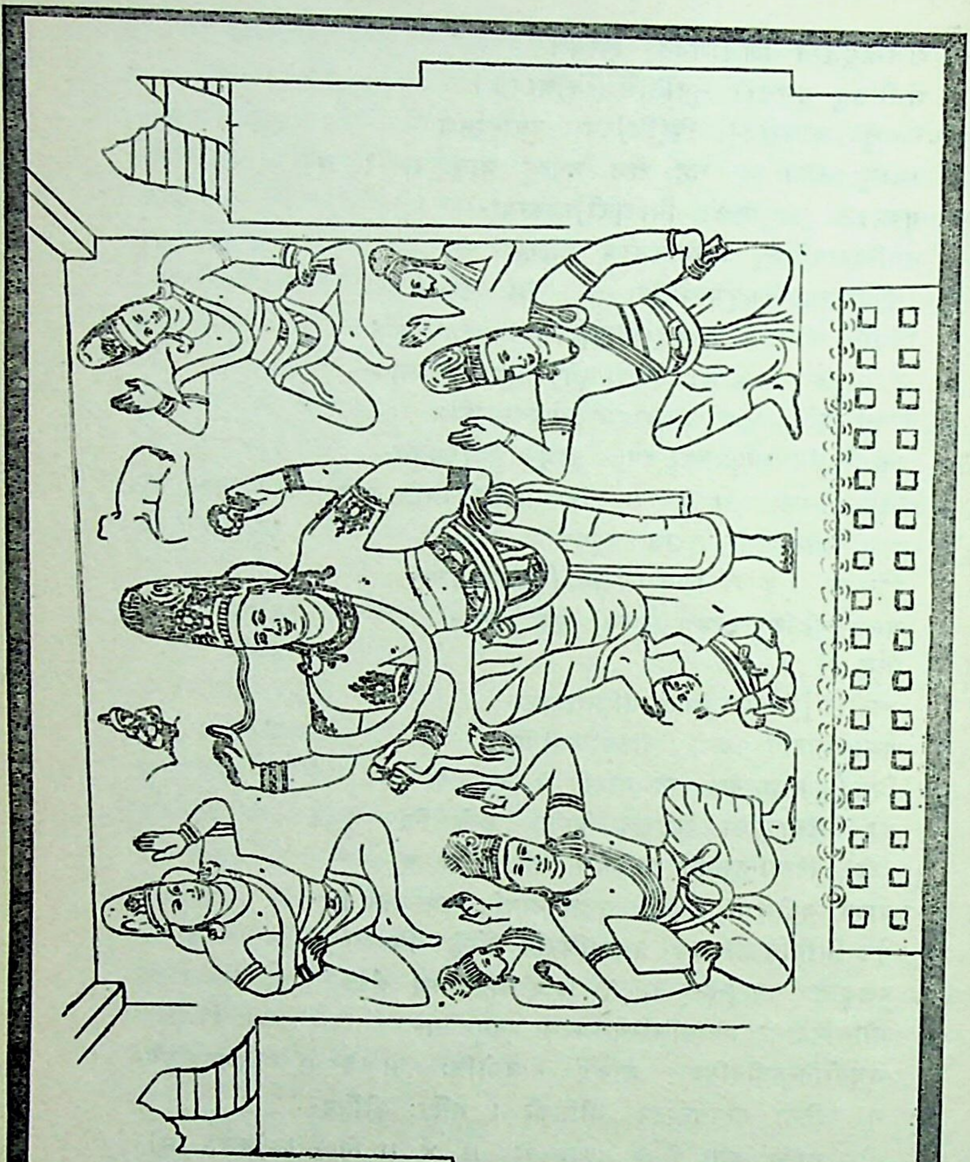
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2. R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Vol. I, Book II of *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* (Lahore : The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927), p. 120.

3. It must be admitted, however, that the grammatical structure of the passage throws doubt on the correctness of the reading of the dates.

4. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, (New York : Dover Publications, Inc., 1965—first published by Karl W. Hiersemann in 1927—), p. 185.

शैलेन्द्रमूर्द्धनि शिलाभवने विचित्रे
शैलीन्तनुं गुणभरो नृपतिर्न्नि (र्नि)धाय, ।
स्थाणुं व्यध(त्त) वि(धि)रेप यथार्त्थसंज्ञं
स्थाणुः स्वयं च सह तेन जगत्सु जातः ॥ १ ॥
गृहमकृत शत्रुमल्लो गिरि(री)न्द्रकन्या-
पतेर्ग्गिरावस्मिन् । गिरिशस्य गिरिश-
(सं)ज्ञामन्वर्त्थीकर्तुमर्त्थपतिः ॥ ॥ २ ॥
विभूतिं चोलानां कथमहमवेम्थे[क्षे]-
य विपुलां नदीं वा कावी (वे)री मवनिभवनाव-
स्थित इति । हरेणोक्तः प्रीत्या विभुरदिश-
दभ्रंलिहमिदम्मनुप्रख्यो(ख्ये) राज्ये गिरिभवन-
मस्मै गुणभरः ॥ ३ ॥ निर्म्मापित? (मिति मुदा)
पुरुषोत्तमेन शैलीं हरस्य तनुमप्रति-
मामनेन । कृत्वा शिवं शिरसि (धा)रयतात्म-
संस्थमुच्चैःशिरस्त्वमच (लस्य) कृतं कृता-
र्त्थम् ॥ ४ ॥
कावी[वे]रीन्नयनाभिरामसलिलामारा-
ममालाधराम् देवो वीक्ष्य नदीप्रियः
प्रिय(गु)णामप्येष राज्येदिति । सा शं-
का गिरिकन्यका पितृकुलं हित्वेह मन्ये गि-
(रौ) नित्यन्तिष्ठति पल्लवस्य दयितामेतां ब्रु-
वाणा नदीम् ॥ १ ॥ गुणभरनामनि राजन्यनेन लि-
गेन लिंगिनि ज्ञानम् । प्रथतांचिराय लोके वि-
पक्षवृत्तेः परावृत्तम् ॥ २ ॥ चोलविषयस्य शैलो
मौलिरिवायं महामणिरिवास्य । हरगृहमेत-
ज्ज्योतिस्तदीयमिव शांकरं ज्योतिः ॥ ३ ॥ शिला(ख)रे-
ण जनिता सत्यसन्धस्य भौतिकी । मूर्त्तिः कीर्तिम-
यी चास्य कृता तेनैव शाश्वती ॥ ४ ॥ निष्क्र(ष्य)चला (स)-
मधायि (गुणभ)रे भक्तिः



Pallava Gaṅgādhara Panal in Mahendra's Cave temple, Tiruchirapalli
Line drawing by M. Lockwood.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE ŚUṄGAS AND THE KAṆVAS

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The Provincial Government of the Śuṅgas (or Baiṁbikas) who were political heirs of the Imperial Mauryas in the sovereignty of North India, was a continuation (as far as the scanty materials allow us to judge) of that of their predecessors, but with looser organisation. Similarly, the Kaṇvas or the Kāṇvāyanas were also the political heirs of the Śuṅgas. So they also might have continued the political organisations of the Imperial Mauryas and the Śuṅgas. If (as is indicated by a late literary tradition) Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra of the Śuṅga dynasty, acted as viceroy at Vidiśā in his father's life-time, it wou'd follow that the Maurya imperial practice of appointing Prince-Viceroys was still in vogue, with the significant addition of the royal title of their names. The viceroy at the Provincial Capital was assisted by the traditional council of ministers known to Aśoka's time. It would further appear that the council under such a ruler as Agnimitra helped mainly to register the King's decrees and carry them effectively.[1]

In addition to the well-organised Viceroyalities there was a well organised feudatory organisation during

1. Agnimitra as Pushyamitra's viceroy at vidiśā with the title of King, 'Agnimitra's *amātya Parishat* or *Mantri Parishat* (*Mālavikāgnimitram*, Passim). The *sabhā* of Pushyamitra referred to by Patañjali on Pāṇ I. 1, 68, may have been merely his court.

the Śuṅga period. We know the name of atleast one Śuṅga feudatory, namely Dhanabhūti, who is commemorated in some votive inscriptions on the Bharhuta-Stúpa Pillars and railings. As a characteristic feature of Śuṅga dominion it may be mentioned that local dynasties ruled in the great Centres of Ayodhya, Kauśāmbī, Ahichhatra and Mathurā. These rulers struck coins in their own names and sometimes took the royal titles also. They must therefore, have enjoyed a position little short of independence of the paramount power. Some of the kings are known to have been related by blood to the Śuṅgas. The Kinship probably resulted in an allied group of Śuṅga kings so that Dhanabhūti, the feudatory named above, could properly date his record "during the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas".[2] The inscriptions and coins of the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas do not throw much light upon their provincial and local administrative machinery. But on the basis of the Mauryan provincial and local administration, we may prepare a structure of the provincial and local administration under the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas.

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2. *Lueders' List*, Nos. 687, 882 (inscrs. of Dhanabhūti and his wife). Ayodhyā : square cast coins with names of r ulers, 2nd century B. C. (Allan, *BMCCA*, I. pp. lxxxvili, 130-5) Kauśāmbī, die-struck coins with rulers' names, 2nd and Ist centuries B. C. (Allan, *Cambridge Shorter History of India*, pp. xcvi 150 f.). Pañchāla (Ahichchhatra) : struck coins with ru lers' names from end of 3rd to end of Ist Century B. C. (Allan, *Ibid*, pp. cxvi-cxxi 192-204). To the above we may add Dharmadeva king of Kośala, sixth descendant of Pushyamitra (*EI*, xx, p. 54 f.) and *IHQ* 1929, pp. 604-7, King Bahasatimitra in inscr. of the time of Udāka (Lueders' List No. 904). The proposed identification of the "Mitra kings of Pañchāla with the Purāṇic list of Śuṅga Kings is untenable (Allan, *Ibid*, pp. cxx, cxxi).

Administrative Divisions

The extensive empire of the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas was then a Union of States, loosely called provinces, under the Supreme dominion of the Emperors like Pushyamitra, Agnimitra, Vasumitra etc. of the Śuṅga dynasty and Vasudeva, Bhūmimitra etc. of the Kaṇva dynasty and their successors. The empire was spilt up into different administrative units, these in their turn into smaller divisions, so as to facilitate the smooth course of the general administration. These administrative divisions may be termed for the sake of convenience such as Provinces, districts, towns and villages. It cannot be said with any definiteness whether the government of the Provinces was an innovation of the Śuṅgas. It is perhaps reasonable to take the view that Provincial Government began with the Saiśunagas, and the Nandas under whom the Empire was growing.

Provincial Organisations

The Provincial organisation under the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas appears to have been of two kinds. One was the organisation of the administration of the territories which accepted the overlordship of the Śuṅgas but which were not administered directly by the officers appointed by the Śuṅga kings for the purpose; the other was the organisation of the administration of the Provinces which were directly under the control of the Śuṅga kings. With regard to the former type of Provinces, the control exercised over them by the imperial government was only indirect and nominal. Such feudatories were those that were originally independent but, were, after having been defeated permitted to rule over their respective territories on their accepting the overlordship of the imperial sovereign.

But the autonomy enjoyed by a feudatory state appears to have varied with its size, geographical position and the financial resources. Thus we see that there were such feudatory states as those of the rulers of Ayodhyā, Kaushāmbī, Mathurā and Ahichhatra who, on account of their large size and great resources enjoyed autonomy within their respective territories to such a large extent that they enjoyed the right of making land grants without any reference to the imperial government. In addition to these feudatories mentioned above, there were also some republican states which were feudatories of the Śuṅgas. They were the Arjunāyanas and the Śibis and some republican states of the Punjab, such as, the Audumbaras, the Kunindas, the Trigartas, the Yaudheyas and the Agastyas. The above mentioned feudatories were acting as the provincial governors under the Śuṅgas. Some of these appear to have been scions of the royal blood and had seceded from the Central authority. They also struck coins in their own names and sometimes took the royal title. At the same time there were also feudatory vassals, who probably on account of the nearness of their territories to the Imperial capital and the limited resources that they had, were not allowed to enjoy any great internal autonomy. They did not enjoy the right to dispose of the revenues of their respective territories in any manner they pleased. Of these, the big and important ones were probably known as *Mahāsāmantas*.

It is difficult to describe the exact relationship that existed between the imperial government and the feudal vassals. But it appears that generally they were required to pay regular tribute and visits to the imperial court to offer their homage during specified periods. They

always obeyed the orders of the imperial authority, and were expected to offer their daughters in marriage to the emperor. It is not likely that the Śuṅga Kings could have interfered in the internal administration of such states when the necessity arose. The foreign minister of the emperor and his staff appear to have exercised rigid control over the policy and activities of the feudatory princes. We do not know for certain if the feudal vassals kept their representatives at the imperial court on a permanent basis to serve as a hostage for their loyalty, or if the imperial government stationed their officers at the courts of these vassals to ensure their loyalty. But spies were employed by the imperial court to keep watch over their activities.

We have no correct idea about the number of Provinces in the Śuṅga and the Kaṇva Empire, particularly in view of the fact that the Provincial Organisation underwent changes from time to time to meet the exigencies of the administration. Besides some known Provinces, under the Śuṅgas, there were a good number of others, of which, however, our knowledge is very meagre. On the whole, the Provinces appear to have differed very much from one another in their size, resource and importance.

Viceroyalties under the Śuṅgas

As noted above, the empire was divided for administrative purposes into a number of Provinces, of which the more remote ones were placed under Viceroys. The Viceroyalties were generally reserved for the Princes called *Kumāras* or *Āryaputras*. The *Mālavikāgnimitram* tells us that Vidiśā (Besnagar in Eastern Mālwā) was governed by Prince Agnimitra, Probably as his fathers'

viceroy (*Goptṛi*).[3] Another Viceroy, also a relation of the emperor, Pushyamitra Śuṅga, may have governed Kośala.[4] Agnimitra's queen had a brother of inferior caste, named Vīrasena. He was placed in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Narmadā (*Atthi devie vannavaro bhādā Viraseno nāmā, so bhaṭṭinā antay* (*P*) *āladugge Nammadātire*[5] *thārido*). Vīrasena was acting as viceroy in the Śuṅga period.

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3. XX Mālvikāgnimitram, Act V, pp. 370, 391 of G. Vidyānidhi's edn. esp. verse 20. *Sampadyate na khalu Goptari na Agnimitre.*

4. The possible existence of this Viceroyalty is disclosed by an inscription discovered at the door of a temple at Ayodhyā, which records the erection of a "Ketana" (abode) by a Kośalādhipa who was the sixth (brother, son of descendant ?) of *Senā pat* Pushyamitra the performer of two horse-sacrifices (*Nāgari Prachāriṇi Patrikā*, Vaiśākha, Sam. 1981); *JBORS* X (1924) 203; xiii (1927) facing 247. *MR*, 1924, October, p. 431; *IHQ*, 1929, 602 f., *EI*, xx. 54 ff. It is interesting to note that the title "*Senāpati*", clung to the deva (King) Pushyamitra even after the performance of the Aśvamedha. Cf. the epithet *vāhinīpati* applied to King Virāṭa in the *Mahābhārata* and title *Yavuga* applied to Kushāṇa emperors besides other epithets. Cf. also the style *Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati* in *CII* vol. 3, p. 252, and the title *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* applied to Bijjala and others even after the assumption of the full royal style (*Bombay Gazetteer*, II, 11, 474 ff).

5. Act, I, some manuscripts mention Mandākinī as the name of the river (cf. *IHQ*, 1925, 214). A stream called Mandākinī lies 5 miles south of the Tāptī (IA, 1902, 254). Another Mandākinī flowed near Chitrakūṭa (*Rāmāyaṇa* 91, 10-11). *Lüders' Inscriptions* Nos. 687-688, seem to suggest that Bhārahuta (in Bughelkhand) was governed by a Śuṅga feudatory. If Pushyamitra was a Śuṅga, Baghelkhand must have formed part of the empire of his family. In the *Monuments of Sāñchī*, I iv. 271, the author does not agree with Bühler in assigning the ins. to the middle of the Second century B. C. Palaeographically the epigraphs are classed with the ins of Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, and Vishnumitra.

Sometimes, instead of the princes, we find local chiefs appointed as viceroys. Thus Yajñasena and Mādhavasena were Pushyamitra's viceroys (*Goptṛi*) of two provinces within the territory of Vidarbha. Vidarbha was divided between these two viceroys for administrative convenience the river Vardā forming the boundary between the two parts. The more centrally situated Provinces were placed under Governors directly appointed by the King.

Home Provinces

The Home Provinces were directly ruled by the Emperor himself with the assistance of Mahāmātras or High Officers stationed in important cities like pāṭaliputra etc. Though we have no positive evidence bearing on the period under review, it may however, be presumed that the same administrative pattern continued during the times of the Śuṅgas also.

Outlying Provinces

The outlying provinces of the Śuṅga-Kaṇva period must have been ruled by Princes of the royal blood who were usually styled *Kumāras*. Probably Vīrasena, a brother of Agnimitra's queen, was a governor of one of the outlying Provinces and was placed in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Narmadā.

Frontier Provinces

The frontiers were in charge of the *Anta-Mahāmātras*, during the rule of Aśoka. But, they are called *Antapālas* by Kauṭilya. The *Antamāhāmātras* like the *Antapālas* were chiefly occupied with the administration of the frontier Provinces.[6] The existence of the *Antapāla*

6. First PE—Delhi Topra, *CI* I, p. 119.

(Warden of the Marches) during the Śuṅga period is evidenced by the *Mālavikāgnitram*. It says that when *Kumāra* Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena and a partisan of Agnimitra, was secretly on his way to Vidiśā, he was captured by an *Antapāla* (Warden of the Marches) of Yajñasena and kept in custody. Thus it is clear that the *Antapāla* was an important high ranking officer during the Śuṅga period. We do not get any reference to his status and functions from any source. But keeping in view the status and functions of the *antapālas* in the Mauryan period, we may well presume the status and functions of the *Antapālas* of the Śuṅga period, being almost the same.

Mode of appointment of Viceroys and Governors

The statement contained in the *Arthaśāstra* regarding the employment of *Amātyas* as the Chief Executive and Judicial Officers of the realm, was confirmed by the classical writers. Strabo, for example, observes,[7] "the seventh caste consists of counsellors and assessors (*Symbouloi* and *Synedroi*) of the king. To these persons belong the officers of State. tribunals, of justice, and the whole administration of affairs". Arrian[8] also says : "there are the Councillors of the state who advise the king or the Magistrate of the self-governed cities, in the managements of public affairs. In point of numbers, this is a small class, but it is distinguished by superior wisdom and justice and hence enjoy the prerogative of choosing governors, chiefs of Provinces, Deputy Governors, Superintendents of the Treasury generals of the army, admirals of the navy, controllers and commissioners, who superin-

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7. Hamilton and Falconer's Translation of Starbo's Geography, Vol. III, p. 103, Cf. *Diodorus*, II, 41.

8. *Indika*, XI, 12.

tend agriculture". During the Śuṅga period there was the existence of the *Amātyas*. They formed a small class of councillors of the State. It was a powerful body of Councillors of the state. From among them, the Governors, Deputy Governors and chiefs of provinces must have been appointed by the Śuṅga emperors. Arrian has also supported this hypothesis in his statement, mentioned above. The Kaṇvas generally followed this practice of their predecessors in their provincial administration.

The epigraphic and literary records also suggest that the Viceroyalties were generally reserved for the Princes called *Kumāras* or *Āryaputras*.[9] The *Mālavikāgnimitram* refers to some princely Viceroys, viz., those governing the Provinces with headquarters at Vidiśā (Besnagar in Eastern Mālwā), Kośala and territory on the bank of Narmadā. If the authority of *Divyāvadāna* and Tāranātha are to be believed, Ayodhyā, Jālandhar and Śākala[10] were also seats of Viceroyalties during the rule of Pushyamitra. But the names of Viceroys of these territories are unfortunately missing. The *Mālavikāgnimitram* tells us that Vidiśā (Besnagar in Eastern Mālwa)

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9. That *Āyaputa* or *Āryaputra* meant a member of a ruling house or clan appears probable from the evidence of the *Bālacharita*, attributed to Bhāsa, in which Vasudeva is addressed by a Bhaṭa as *Āryayutra*. Pandit T. Ganapati Sāstri further points out that in the *Svapnanāṭaka* the term *Āryaputra* is employed as a Work of respect by the Chamberlain of Vāsavadattā's father in addressing King Udayana (*Introduction to the Pratimā-nāṭaka*, p. 32). An interesting feature of Aśoka's administration was the employment of a Yavana Governor or spiskopos in one territory to which reference has already been made.

10. Jaina Writers, e.g., Merutunga, include Avanti within the dominions of Pushyamitra. This Province was lost to the Śātavāhaṇas, and Śākala to the Greeks.

was governed by prince Agnimitra and Kośala by Vīrasena, noted above.

In case of non-availability of the princes of the royal family, local chiefs were appointed on these posts by the king. Thus Yajñasena and Mādhavasena were Pushyamitra's viceroys (*Goptṛi*) of two provinces within the territory of Vidarbha. Vidarbha was divided between these two viceroys for administrative convenience—the river Varadā forming the boundary between the two parts. The more centrally situated provinces were placed under Governors. The viceroys and Governors of different provinces were directly appointed by the king on the advice of his council of ministers (*Amātya-Parishad* or *Mantri-Parishad*).

Position, Powers and Functions of Provincial Governors or Chiefs

At the head of each province there was a viceroy or a Governor called *Goptṛi*. It may be presumed that the same set of executive officials might have been in existence under the Śuṅgas and Kaṇvas who assisted the governors during the Mauryan period. This presumption is based on the fact that the government of the Śuṅgas (Baiṁbikas), who were political-heirs of the Imperial Mauryas in the sovereignty of North India, was a continuation (as far as the scanty materials allow us to judge) of the same order but with much looser organisation. The Kaṇvas, too, followed the same pattern in their scheme of Provincial administration. These executive officials were appointed by the Central Government.

The Provincial Viceroys and Governors were representatives of the sovereign, and almost functioned like deputy-kings, enjoying more or less the similar

privileges in their headquarters as did king in the capital.

As regards their functions it may be noted that they had to tackle the internal affairs of the Provinces with the assistance of a body of officials known by different designations, the *mahāmātras*, the *rājūkas* and the *Prādeṣṭṛs*. Their chief functions appear to have been the collection of revenue, and defence through an elaborate police organisation besides maintaining the law and order situation in the Provinces.

The Provincial Governors or chiefs exercised their powers with the advice of their *mantripariṣad* or *amātya-pariṣad* and a body of officials and had powers to command to lead the army in the field of battle against the enemy. Regarding marching of troops against the enemy, they used to exercise their discretion. This was the case in the reign of Pushyamitra, when his son and viceroy of Vidiśā, Agnimitra, commanded and led the army in the battle-field and ordered the troops to march against his enemy Yajñasena. This is also proved by the evidence of the *Mālavikāgnimitram*. The *Mālavikā-gnimitram* says that when *Kumāra*, Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena and a Partisan of Agnimitra, was secretly on his way to Vidiśā, he was captured by an *Antapāla* (Warden of the Marches) of Yajñasena and kept in custody. Agnimitra as the viceroy of Vidiśā demanded his surrender. The Vidarbha king promised to give him on condition that his brother-in-law, the Maurya Minister, be released. This enraged the ruler of Vidiśā, Agnimitra, who ordered Vīrasena to march against Vidarbha. Yajñasena was defeated. Mādhavasena was released and the kingdom of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, the river Varadā (Wardha) forming the

boundary between the two States. Both the rulers seem to have accepted the suzerainty of the House of Pushyamitra. From the above it is clear that the viceroy used to combine in himself the task of an administrator as well as that of an army Commander.

The ordinary provincial Governors were called *Rājūkas*,[11] who had been in existence before Aśoka, but Aśoka invested them with greater authority. This office also existed during the rule of the Indo-Bactrians, the Indo-Scythians and the Indo-Parthians. Thus it may be logically inferred that the *Rājūkas* were in existence also during the times of the Śuṅgas as well as the Kaṇvas and they might have enjoyed more or less the authority as they did in the preceding periods.

The frontier provinces were incharge of the *Antapālas* already mentioned above. But their duties are not indicated in any source of the Śuṅga or the Kaṇva period. They are mentioned by Kauṭilya. Their duty was to impose the transit dues (*Vartanī*) on imported goods, and after examining their quality to stamp them their seals,[12] and pass them on to the Superintendent of Tolls. They had also to make good losses to merchants by thefts committed within their jurisdiction. It was the primary function of the Governors to safeguard the frontier-territories and to ensure peace in their jurisdiction.

The Mantripariṣad of the Province

The Provincial Governors or chiefs had their own council of Ministers (*Mantripariṣad* or *amātya-pariṣad*) who used to advice them in matters of Provincial adminis-.

11. Cf. *Aśokan P.E.*, IV, *RE*, III.
12. *Arthaśāstra*, BK, II, Ch. 21.

tration. The viceroys, too, had their own ministers. Pantañjali refers to the *Sabhā* of Pushyamitra. But it is uncertain as to whether the term refers to a Royal *Durbar*, a tribunal of justice, or a council of Magnates. The existence of councils or Assemblies of Ministers (*Mantri-Pariṣad*) is, however, vouched for by Kālidāsa. Accordingly, the council continued to be an important element of the governmental machinery. He gives us the important information that even viceregal princes were assisted by *Parishads.*[13] The *Mālvikāgnimitram* refers in clear terms to the dealings of Prince Agnimitra, the viceroy at vidiśā (in Eastern Mālwā), with his *Parishad* : "*Deva evam Amātya-Parishado vigñāpayāmi*"[14] "*Mantri-Parishado' pyetad-eva darśanam dvidhā vibhaktām śriyam-udvahantaudhuraṁ rathaśvāviva saṁgrahituḥ tau sthāsyatas-te nṛipater nideśe parasparāvagraha-nirvikārau*[15] *Rājā* : *tena hi Mantri-Parishadaṁ brūhi senānya Vīrasenāya likhyatām evaṁ kriyatām iti.*[16]

It seems that the *Amātya-Parishad* or *Mantri-Parishad* was duly consulted whenever an important matter of foreign policy had to be decided upon.

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13. Buehler (*EI*, III. 137) points out that Aśoka's *Kumāras* were also each assisted by a body of *Mahāmātras*. These may have corresponded to the *Kumārāmātyas* of the Gupta Period.

14. "King : I will announce this decision to the Council of Ministers."

15. "This is also the view of the (Council of Ministers). Those two kings, unbearing the fortune of their superior lord divided between them as the horses upbear the yoke of the charioteer, will remain firm in their allegiance to thee, not being distracted by mutual attacks :" *Act*, V, Verse 14.

16. "King : Tell the Council then to send to the General Virasena written instructions to this effect." (Tawney, *Mālvikāgnimitram*, pp. 89-90).

The *Arthaśāstra* refers to the terms *mahāmātra* in the sense of a minister,[17] and the *Mahāmātrīya*[18] as the official chamber of the ministry. It is significant to note again the term *mantripariṣad*, meaning the council of Ministers. This Council enjoyed the right of consultation by the king at the centre and by the provincial Viceroys or governors at the Provinces before they would launch on some business affecting the State. The *ārya-putra* or the provincial chief did not act on his own initiative, but consulted his council before he took action, is seen from the fact that even the orders of the Provincial headquarters were sent both in the name of the provincial chief and his *amātyas* (*Mahāmātra*) as is evident from the phrase" *āyaputasa mahāmatāṇaṁ cha*"[19] Though the members of the *mahāmātra-pariṣad* or *amātya-pariṣad* seem to have enjoyed a good deal of freedom, yet they did not go unchecked. They could not abuse their powers and privileges. If differences of opinion arose among them, the matter was reported to the king at the imperial headquarters who was the final arbiter.[20] Again if they conducted themselves badly the citizens would raise the standard of revolt, which would be duly reported to the king.

Provinces under the feudatories

Some of the feudatories of the Śuṅgas are known from the inscriptions and coins. The only ancient monuments, on which the tribal name of the imperial dynasty has yet been found, came from the Buddhist *Stūpa* at

17. *Arthaśāstra*, BK I, Ch. 13.
18. *Ibid*, BK. II, Ch. 5.
19. See *CII*, I., p. 176, *Brahmagiri* RE.
20. See *RE*, *VI*, *CII*, I, p. 11.

Bhārahuta, in the Nāgod state of Central India, about 185 miles N. E. of Vidiśā.[21] Here two gateways were dated "in the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas." One of these (Inscr. No. 687) was erected by Dhanabhūti "Vācchiputra" i. e. "son of a Princess of Vatsa (Kauśāmbī)", and the other (inscr. No. 688) by some member of the same family. The name Dhanabhūti occurs also in an inscription at Mathurā (No. 125) and may be restored with certainty in the record of a donation made by his queen, Nāgarakhitā, at Bhārahuta (No. 882). From the above sources we may reconstruct the family tree of this king from his grandfather, king Visadeva, to his son, Prince Vādhapāla; and we may conclude that this family ruled at Bhārahuta, and that it was connected in some way with the royal family at Mathurā, more than 250 miles to the N. W. As none of the four names is found in the list of Śuṅgas given by the *Purāṇas*, it is not probable that the kings of this line were feudatories, though they may have been related to the imperial house by family ties.

Acting on Jayaswal's suggestion, we may perhaps venture to trace the feudatory kings of this dynasty to Kauśāmbī, 80 miles N. E. of Bhārahuta, and to Ahicchatra, 250 miles N. W. of Kauśāmbī. One of the inscriptions (No. 904) in the sacred hill of Pabhosā (Prabhāsa) records that the cave of Pabhosā hill was excavated in the tenth year of the reign of Odraka, the fifth of the Śuṅga kings. The donor was Āshāḍhasena, the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra, who was presumably the feudatory king then ruling at Kauśāmbī and whose coins (Pl. V., 2) are found at Kosam. Bahasatimitra was thus, it seems, contemporary, with Odraka,

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21. *Indische Palaeographie*, Ch. XXVI, p. 624.

whose reign, according to the *Purāṇas*, began 61 years after the accession of the first Śuṅga king, i. e. C. 123 B. C., and this date is in agreement with the period to which numismatists have, from entirely different considerations, assigned the coins of Bahasatimitra. The coinage of the kings of Kauśāmbī seems to begin in the third century B. C. and to extend over a period of about three hundred years.[22]

We may infer from the inscriptions at Pabhosā that, in the second Century B. C., Pañchāla (Ahicchatra) and Vatsa (Kauśāmbī) were governed by branches of the same family, and that both kingdoms acknowledged the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas. The history of Kauśāmbī may be traced back to the time when the Pūrus (Kurus) removed thither after their capital, Hastināpura, had been destroyed by an inundation of the Gaṅgā. We now find this city under the rule of a house in which Kurus and Pañchālas had no doubt long been merged.

Mathurā (Muttra) on the upper Yamunā, about 270 miles in a straight line N. W. of Kauśāmbī, may perhaps have been another of the feudatory kingdoms. The sacred city of Ptolemy (VII, I, 50), was a stronghold both of the worship of Kṛishṇa and of Jainism, and it was the capital of the Śūrasenas, one of the leading peoples of the Midland country. Its earlier rulers find a place in the *Purāṇas* but only in the general summary of those dynasties which were contemporary with the Pūrus (p, 316); and coins have preserved the names of at least twelve later kings who reigned during the Śuṅga

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22. Cunningham, *coins of Ancient India*, p. 73 pl. V, 7-18; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pp. 12-13.

period.[23] On of these, Balabhūti, is associated by the style and type of his coinage with Bahasatimitra of Kauśāmbī, whose daughter was married to a king of Mathurā. The two kings were almost certainly ruling at about the same time, and it seems reasonable to assume, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, that they were both feudatories of the Śuṅgas. Another king of Mathurā, Brahmamitra (Pl. V, 6) was probably contemporary with king Indramitra of Ahicchatra (Pl. V, 4); for both names are found in the dedicatory inscriptions of queens of pillars of the railing at Buddha Gayā, which is assigned by archaeologists to the earlier part of the first century B. C.

According to the evidence of the *Harshacharita*, Mūladeva murdered the Śuṅga emperor Sumitra. Since the coins of Mūladeva have been found at Ayodhyā it may be reasonably inferred that after murdering Sumitra, Mūladeva declared himself the independent ruler of Kośala and became the founder of the line of Kings to which Vāyudeva, Viśākhadeva and Dhanadeva certainly belonged, as their coins form a uniform series with those of Mūladeva. But before the murder of king Sumitra of the Śuṅga dynasty the kings of Kośala were feudatories to the Śuṅgas.

Districts and Villages

It appears that the Śuṅgas and the Kaṇvas had followed the practice of the Mauryas in regard to the administration of the districts.

We may presume about the duties of the district officials of the Śuṅga and the Kaṇva periods on the basis

23. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 85-90, Pl. VIII ; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 13; *JRAS* 1900, pp. 109-11.

of the evidence given by Megasthenes. According to Megasthenes "the duties of the District Officials (*Agronomio*) were to supervise (i) Irrigation and Land Measurement, (2) Hunting, (3) the various Industries connected with Agriculture, Forestry, work in Timber, Metal Foundries, and Mines, and they had (4) to maintain the Roads and see that at every ten stadia[24] ($1\frac{1}{3}$ miles) there was a mile-stone indicating the distance.

The next administrative division was the *grāma* or village, or a group of villages which formed the Political unit. We do not get any light on the village administration of the Śuṅga and the Kaṇva periods. But it is certain that this unit of administration would have played an important role in the Provincial administration during these periods. That the village officials were under some sort of control of the district officials is borne out by an important record, viz. the Soughaura copper-plate inscription whose interpretation remained unsettled for a long time.[25] This inscription which is accepted to be of the period of Aśoka, really constitutes an order to the villages of *Mānavāsitikṛtaśrīmanta* and Uṣagrāma by the *mahāmātras* of Śrāvasti. Śrāvasti was apparently a district. It may be noted that it was an order to the respective villages to put up two temporary store-houses on the road with full provisions. The Pālī *Mahāvagga* testifies to the importance of the village as an administrative unit and an administrative organisation based on democratic principles.

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24. 1 *Yojana*—8 miles; 10 *Stadia*—$2022\frac{1}{2}$ yards—$\frac{1}{3}$ of a *Yojana* —$1\frac{1}{3}$ of a mile (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 265; *CHI*, 1.185). Mc-Crindle takes a Unit of 10 *Stadia* to stand for an Indian *Krośa* or *Kośa*.

25. For a discussion on the subject see the *Proceedings of ASB* pp. 1894, p. 87ff ; *JRAS*, 1907, p. 523ff ; *ABORI*, Vol. XI, Pt. 1, 32—48.

With regard to the administration of village, Kauṭilya tells us that it was carried on by the *Gopa*[26] who looked after 5 or 10 villages and the *Sthānika* who controlled one quarter of a *Janapada* or district.[27] The work of these officers (concerning village administration) was supervised, by the *Samāhartṛi* with the help of the *Pradeshṭris.*[28] The same set of officials seems to have continued during the Śuṅga and the Kaṇva periods, although due to paucity of materials we are not in a position to give a detailed account of the village administration.

The village had a village officer (*Grāmika*) who was assisted by the elders (*Grāmavṛddhaḥ*).[29] The king's servant in the village was the *Grāmabhṛitaka*[30] or *Grāmabhojaka.*[31] It appears that the *Grāmika* was not a salaried servant of the Crown, but an elected[32] official of the villagers. *Grāma-bhṛtaka*, the village servant of the

26. The *Gopas* proper do not find mention in early epigraphs, but *Lueder's* Ins No. 1266, mentions "*Senā-Gopas*".

27. *Arthaśāstra*, BK. III, Ch. XXXVI p. 159. On the *Sthānikas*, see B A. Saletore, *The Sthānikas and their Historical Importance*, (Bombay 1938).

28. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 142, 217. We do not know how far the system described in the treatise on polity applies to the early Maurya period. In the days of Aśoka the work of supervision was done largely by special classes of *Mahāmātras* (Cf. *PE*, V. and the *KE*). *Pulisā* (Agents) and *Rajukās* (*PE*, IV).

29. *Ibid*, BK. III, Ch. X, p. 194.

30. *Ibid*, pp. 175, 248.

31. The *Grāmbhojaka* of the *Jātakas* was, an *amātya* of the king (Fick, *The Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's Time*, p. 160.)

32. There is, however, evidence to show that in early times *adhikritas* were appointed for villages by the paramount ruler (*Praśna Upanishad* III. 4).

king, seems to have received an annual salary of 500 *paṇas.*[33]

The administrative and judicial business of villages was, in ancient India, carried on by the *Grāmikas*[34] *Grāmabhojakas* or *Āyuktas* who were, no doubt, assisted by the village elders.[35] Petty cases in villages were doubtless decided by the headmen and the village elders.

Rural administration was thus highly efficient and the tillers of the soil received adequate protection from all injury and devoted the whole of their time to cultivation.

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33. *Arthaśāstra*, *BK*, V, Ch. III, p. 277.

34. Fick, *The Social Organisation in North East India in Buddha's time* 162. *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 152, 172, cf. *Lueders. Ins.* 48, 69-a. The *KE* refers to *Āyuktus* who helped the princely viceroys and *Mahāmātras* in carrying out Imperial Policy. In the early Post-Mauryan, and Scythian Age they are distinctly referred to as village officials (*Lueders List.*, No. 1347). In the Gupta Age the designation is applied to various functionaries including district officers.

35. *Grāma-Vṛiddhas*, *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 48, 161, 169, 178, Cf. *Lueders Ins.*, No. 1327 *RE*. V. and VIII refer to *Mahālakas* and *Vṛiddhas*.

नैयायिकाचार्यशंकरमतालोचनम्

किशोर नाथ झा

इलाहाबाद

१ अवतरणम्—

न्यायदर्शने बौद्धसनातनमतावलम्बिनोः पारस्परिकः खण्डनमण्डनक्रमोऽद्यतनानां गवेषकाणां मनांसि नितरामाकर्षति । एतमेव क्रममाधारतया गृहीत्वा संप्रदायौ विवर्धमानौ सविशेषमालोचनमपेक्षमाणौ च विद्येते । सनातनन्यायशास्त्रस्येतिवृत्तं यदि दृष्टिपथातिथ्यं भजते न्यायवार्तिकतात्पर्यटीकयोरन्तरालकालः अन्धकारमय एव दृश्यते, यद्यपि उद्द्योतकरस्य समये न्यायशास्त्रं शिखरोपममुत्कर्षमलभत । अत एवात्र 'उद्दयोतकरकालो हि अमूषां यौवनम्' इत्युदयनाचार्योक्तिः[१] संगच्छते । बहवो नैयायिकाः तत्कालेषु लब्धयशसः स्वकीयाभिः प्रतिभापरिचायिकाभिः प्रतिनिधिरचनाभिः तथैतत् समवर्द्धयन् यथास्य प्रौढ़िः प्रतिपन्ना बौद्धाक्षिप्तशंकापंकानां प्रक्षालनेन स्वसम्प्रदाय उद्द्योतितः प्रतिवादिनां मुखानि च पिहितानि । तथापि एतेषां परिचयस्तु समक्षेऽस्माकं तिरोहितश्चिरादेव विद्यते । प्रयत्नवद्भिर्विमर्शकैरद्यापि नोपलभ्यते । एतादृशा एवापरिचिताः न्यायाचार्याः विश्वरूपाध्ययनभाविविक्ताविद्धकर्णनरसिंहवित्तोकशतानन्दप्रभृतयः सन्तीति । इमे खलु प्रतिपक्षिणां ग्रन्थेषु निरसनीयतया उल्लिखितेषु सन्दर्भेषु संरक्षिताः विद्यन्ते । न चैषां विशेषः परिचयः ग्रन्थो वा कश्चित् दृष्टिगोचरो जायतेऽस्माभिः ।

खृष्टीयैकादशशतकस्यादिमार्धसमयभवस्य[२] न्यायशास्त्रसरण्यां मध्यस्थितस्य महतो गर्तस्योपरि सेतुबन्धनविधौ दक्षतमस्य बौद्धाचार्यस्य ज्ञानश्रीमित्रस्य वयमधमर्णाः,--यः खलु निजनिबन्धेषु तत्समयविश्रुतानां नैयायिकानां सन्दर्भान् नामनिर्देशपुरस्सरमुद्धृत्य अस्मान् कृतार्थानकरोत् ।

यथा सूत्रकारकालप्रभवैः बौद्धविद्वद्भिः समुद्भावितं पूर्वपक्षं भगवान् वात्स्यायनः भाष्यं प्रणीय समादधाति स्वमतमुज्ज्वलयति च । धूलीभिः तत् धूसरयितुं पुनः प्रयतमानानां वसुबन्धुदिङ्नागप्रभृतीनां मुखमर्दनाय वार्तिककृत-उद्द्योतकरस्य प्रयासो दृश्यते । तथा बौद्धदर्शनस्य योगाचारसंप्रदायावलम्बिनः आचार्यस्य धर्मकीर्तेः उद्द्योतकरगवीषु शंकापंकप्रक्षेपं प्रक्षालयति वाचस्पतिमिश्रस्तात्पर्यटीकायामिति प्रथितं धीधनेषु । पुनः वाचस्पतिं निराकृत्य

शिष्याणां कर्तव्यतया गुरोर्धर्मकीर्तेर्मतं प्रतिष्ठापयितुमुद्यतस्य ज्ञानश्रीमित्रस्य निवन्धरचनारूपोऽभिनन्दनीयः प्रयत्नः शास्त्रार्थसौरभं तथा व्यकिरत् यथा तमादातुं लालायिता मधुरकरवृत्तयः शेमुषीजुषो वर्तन्ते ।

एतस्यैव निवन्धे चतुर्षु न्यायवेदिकास्तम्भरूपेण वर्णितेषु आचार्येषु न्यायभूषणन्यायमंजरीग्रन्थयोः प्रणेतृभ्यां भासर्वज्ञत्रिलोचनाभिधाचार्याभ्यां तात्पर्यटीकाकृता वाचस्पतिमिश्रेण च साकमिमे शंकराचार्यचरणाः विलसन्ति ।

दुर्नीताश्रमवेदिकाद्दढतरस्तम्भानमून् शंकर—
न्यायालंकरणत्रिलोचनवचस्पत्याह्वयान् हेलया ।
उन्मूल्य क्षणभंग एष विहितो यत्पुण्यमाप्तं मया
तेन स्तात् परपारगस्त्रिभुवने ज्ञानश्रियोऽयं जनः[3] ।।

इत्यस्मिन् ज्ञानश्रीमित्रस्य क्षणभंगाध्यायोपसंहारश्लोके सर्वस्मात् प्रथमं नैयायिकाचार्यवर्यस्य शंकरस्याभिधानं विद्यावार्द्धक्यप्रयुक्तं कालसापेक्षं च तस्यानितरसाधारणं वैशिष्ट्यं विद्योतयति । कालभक्षितस्स च तदीयग्रन्थस्य सन्दर्भास्तत्र विंशतेरप्यधिकेषु स्थलेषु समुद्धृताः सन्तीति, एतस्मादेव तदीयविचारधारायाः परिणाहः गाम्भीर्यं च परिमापणीयम् ।

अयं च नैयायिकाचार्यशंकरः वैशेषिकसूत्रोपस्काराद्यनेकग्रन्थनिर्मातुः भवनाथमिश्रात्मजनुषः सोदरपुरसरिसववंशमणेः शंकरमिश्रात् वृद्धतमः बौद्धदिग्गजानां युक्तिमौलान् भेत्तुं सिंहायमानोऽस्तीत्यत्र विवादाभावः । किन्तु दौर्भाग्यमस्माकम्, यदेतादृशो विदुषः विषये किमपि न ज्ञायते । कदा कुत्र वायं प्रादुरभूत्, कस्मादधीत्य कानशिक्षयत्, जीवने किं किमकरोत्, कं ग्रन्थं व्यरचयदित्येतत् सर्वं तद्विषयकं लुप्तमेव विद्यते ।

२ विषयवस्तुप्रतिपादनम्—

अत्रेदमवसेयम्–आत्मसिद्धिर्हि रणभूमिरुभयोः बौद्धनैयायिकयोः । तत्र नैयायिकः जीवात्मपरमात्मनोर्द्वैधमुरीकरोति, तयोः संस्थापने च यत्नवान् दृश्यते । बौद्धदर्शनस्य योगाचारमतावलम्बी विज्ञानवादी सिद्धान्ततो वस्तुमात्रस्य क्षणिकत्वं निश्चित्य स्थिरपदार्थमात्रं निराकरोति । तेनैव स्वत आत्मापाकृतो भवति । अत्र पदार्थस्थैर्यमुपपाद्य लक्ष्यस्यात्मनः सिद्धौ जगतः कर्तुरीश्वरस्य च सिद्धौ प्रकृतस्य शंकरस्य ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धोद्धृतसन्दर्भसंगृहीतं मतं रोचकं सन्दर्शनीयं च जायते । तथा हि—

२–१ यत् सत् तत् क्षणिकं यथा जलधरः इत्येवंरीत्यानुमानेन पदार्थमात्रस्य क्षणिकत्वमर्थात् तृतीयक्षणवृत्तिध्वंसप्रतियोगित्वं साधयन्ति बौद्धाचार्याः । तत्रायं शंकरोऽभिलपति–सर्वेषां प्रमाणानामुपजीव्यतया प्रथमोपात्तेन बलवत्तरेण च प्रत्यक्षेण प्रमाणेन स्थितिविपर्ययाभावोऽर्थात् स्थितेः स्थैर्यशालिनः विपर्ययः क्षणिकत्वं तस्या-

भावोऽक्षणिकत्वं फलतः पदार्थानां स्थैर्यं सिद्धयति । अत एव ततोऽल्पशक्तिशालिनानुमानेन तद्विपरीतस्य क्षणिकत्वस्य प्रसाधनं कथंकारं मान्यं भवतु नाम । किं च तत् प्रमाणमिति जिज्ञासाशान्तये पूर्वापरकालयोरेकताग्रहं प्रस्तौति ।

इह विधिमुखेन विषयाणां प्रतिपादनस्य संभवे नञ्द्वयसमावेशेन वस्तूपस्थापनं प्रतिपक्षमतनिरासाभिप्रायकमिति मनुते विमर्शकः । तथा च पंक्तिस्तस्य— "यदाह शंकरः—प्रत्यक्षेणैव स्थितिविपर्ययाभावस्य सिद्धत्वात् । न चायमेकताग्रहः पूर्वापरकालयोरप्रमाणं संवादित्वात्"[४] इति । इह यद्यपि पूर्वापर कालयोरेकताग्रहेण प्रतिसन्धानमेव शंकरस्य विवक्षितम्, तच्च न्यायसूत्रभाष्यकाराभ्यां पूर्वत एवात्मसाधकतयाभिहितमस्ति अतोऽत्रापूर्वता न दृश्यते । तथापि पूर्वजानां हेतौ अन्यैरारोपितं शंकाकलंकं प्रक्षाल्य तत्र संवादित्वेन हेतुना दार्ढ्यं समानीय लावण्यं चादधन् शंकरः आत्मनः शास्त्रार्थकौशलं दीपयति ।

२–२ बौद्धाचार्यः प्रथममात्मसिद्धान्तं समुदघोषयत् तत्र दोषं प्रदर्श्य शंकरः स्वाभिमतं प्रासाधयत् । अधुना स्वपक्षसाधकयुक्तिं विहाय परपक्षे बाधकं प्रमाणमुपस्थापयितुकामः नैयायिकप्रतिपक्षी शंकते—कुशूले स्थितं बीजं नांकुरं जनयति क्षेत्रपतितं च बीजं जनयत्यंकुरमिति पदार्थस्थैर्यवादे नोपपद्यते । स्वभावस्य दुरतिक्रमतया कुशूलस्थबीजे यद्यकुंरजनकस्वभावो नास्ति, कथं क्षेत्रे पतितं तदेव बीजं जनयेदंकुरम् । बीजाविशेषः समानमेव फलमुभयत्र दद्यात् । यदि चांकुरजनकस्वभाव एव क्षेत्रपतितबीजतोऽकुंरदर्शनेन कल्प्यते, पुनः कुशूलेऽपि अंकुरोत्पत्तिरूपापत्तिरापतति ।

क्षणिकत्वमते तु कुशूलस्थे बीजे अंकुरजनकस्वभावो नास्ति, क्षेत्रपतितबीजे च कुर्वद्रूपत्वरूपवैजात्यस्याधानेन तादृशः स्वभावः समायाति इति क्षणिकत्वमेव पदार्थस्य मन्तव्यम् । एवं च प्रतिक्षणं भिद्यमानस्य पदार्थस्य स्वभावे यदि भेदो भवति तर्हि स समुचित एव ।

इहोत्तरयति नैयायिकः—नैतदर्थं क्षणिकत्वांगीकार आवश्यकः । बीजेऽकुंरजनकस्वभावः सर्वत्र सर्वदा च निश्चयेन तिष्ठति । किन्तु अंकुरोत्पत्तौ न केवलं तादृशस्वभाववतो बीजस्यैवापेक्षास्ति, अपि तु तत्रावनिनभोजलानिलतेजसां संयोगादेः सहकारिता वर्तते । अत एव सहकारिणः समवधानदशायां जनयत्यंकुरं क्षेत्रपतितं बीजम्, कुशूलस्थं च तन्नांकुरं जनयति सहकारिणोऽसमवधानादिति पदार्थस्थैर्यमपलपितुमशक्यम् ।

इत्थं च पदार्थस्थैर्यवादे बौद्धाचार्यस्य बाधकप्रमाणोपन्यासः न संगच्छते इति कोऽपि वक्तुं प्रभवति । इममेव कथां पल्लवयितुकामः शंकरोऽभिधत्ते सहकारिविरहो हि तस्यासामर्थ्यमुच्यते । तच्चास्य सहकारिसाकल्यहेतुभिरपनीयते, तयोरेकत्र सहस्थितिविरोधात् । सहकारिसाकल्यहेतुभ्यश्च वैकल्यस्यैव व्यावृत्तिः । साकल्यस्य सहकारिविरहव्यावृत्तिरूपत्वात्[५] इति ।

अयमभिप्रायः—सामग्र्यां हि कार्यकारित्वं तिष्ठति न तूपादानकारणमात्रे। एवं च क्षेत्रपतितबीजे कुर्वद्रूपत्वरूपं वैजात्यं प्रकल्प्य तदभावं च कुशूलस्थे बीजे प्रदर्श्य क्षणिकत्वसाधनं पदार्थेषु न संगच्छते बौद्धाचार्यस्य। यतो हि सहकारिवादं निराकृत्य क्षणभंगं स्थापयितुं यदि कोऽपि प्रयतेत तर्हि कुर्वद्रूपत्वरूपवैजात्यमेव तस्मिन् नोत्पद्येत। क्षणभंगपक्षेऽपि सहकारिणां नभोऽवनिजलानिलतेजसां संयोगादीनां मध्येऽवस्थितमेव बीजं कुर्वद्रूपत्वं वैजात्यमादधाति।

अस्याश्च कथायाः प्रतिध्वनिः पश्चाद्भवे न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलौ श्रूयते—"अयमपि क्षणभंगे परिहारो न सहकारिवादे,...न तु क्षणोऽपि तदनपेक्षस्तथाभवितुमर्हति"[६] इति। अत्र तदनपेक्ष इत्यस्य सहका- र्यनपेक्ष इत्यर्थ इति तद्बोधनी।

"न हि करणाकरणयोस्तज्जातीयस्य सतः सहकारिलाभालाभौ तन्त्रमित्यभ्युपगमे क्षणिकत्वसिद्धिः। तथैकव्यक्तावप्यविरोधात्, तद्वा तादृग्वेति न कश्चिद्विशेष इति न्यायात्। ततस्तावनादृत्य वैजात्यमप्रामाणिकमेवाभ्युपेयम्।... तत्किं कारणस्य विशेषः स्वगतस्तत्प्रयोजकतयोपलब्धः ? कारणसामान्यस्य वान्यत् प्रयोज्यान्तरं दृश्यते ?। यतो विवक्षितसिद्धिः स्यात्। शंका तूभयत्रापि सुलभेति कार्यजन्माजन्माभ्यामुन्नीयत इति चेत् न, सहकारिलाभालाभाभ्यामेवोपपत्तेः"[७] इति।

इमामेव शंकरकथां प्रसंगतोऽन्यत्रापि समुद्धरति ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः —

"तदेतदतिलाघवमाविष्कृतमात्मनः शंकरेण। तदयं जात्यन्धानां नीलादिप्रतिषेधवत् असंबन्धो निषेधः सौगातानामसन्नोऽक्षणिका इत्यभिदधानेन। तस्मात् स्थिरमेतत् स्थिरात्मत्वे मिलित्वैव कार्यकरणनियमो भाग्यहीनमनोराज्यस्थानीय"[८] इति।

अत्रायमाशयः—सहकारिभिर्युक्तं तत् तत्कारणं तत्र तत्रान्वयव्यतिरेकवत्सु कार्यविशेषेषु शक्तम्। तस्मात् सहकारिक्रमवशात् कार्यविशेषाणां क्रमेणोत्पत्तिर्जायते। प्रतिनियतं कारणत्वं भावानां स्वभाव इति न सततोत्पादप्रसंगरूपापत्तिः संभवति।

२–३ पुनरत्र क्षणिकवादी यदि शंकेत—सहकारिसमवधानेऽपि कार्यभेदमेकस्मादपि कारणाद् वीक्ष्य कार्यभेदप्रयुक्तः कारणभेदः कल्पनीय इति एतत् क्षणिकत्वमत एव सिद्ध्यति तत्, न तु स्थैर्यवादे एतत् संभवति। अन्यथा एकस्मात् हेतोरेकविधमेव कार्यं स्यादिति।

अत्र शंकरस्तस्य शंकामपाकरोति—यथैकोऽपि दीपः स्नेहस्य सहकारितायामालोकं जनयति वर्तिविकारं करोति ज्वालान्तरं च सम्पादयति न च भिद्यते तथा सहकारिसमवधाने कार्यभेदात् कारणभेदः नांगीकार्यं इति पदार्थस्थैर्यवादः सिद्ध्यत्येव।

प्रसंगान्तरेऽपि शंकरस्य कथामिमामुत्थापयति ज्ञानश्रीमित्राचार्यः — "ततः शंकरोऽपि नहि येन स्वभावेन प्रदीपः वर्तिविकारस्य हेतुस्तेनैव ज्वालोपलम्भयोरपि तत्स्वभावताप्रसंगात् इत्यभिदधानो न किंचिच्चेतयते"[९] इति ।

एवंरीत्या सहकारिवादं निरूप्य तत एव पदार्थस्थैर्यं नान्तरीयकतया साधयन् शंकरः क्षणभंगवादं निराकरोति पदार्थस्थैर्यवादे समागतान् दोषांश्च अनुभवनिकषे परीक्षिताभ्यां तर्कप्रमाणाभ्यां परिमार्जयति ।

२–४ न केवलं पदार्थस्थैर्यं प्रसाध्य क्षणभंगं च निराकृत्य कृतकृत्यतां यात्ययम् । अपि तु नैयायिकस्य मौलिकमात्मसाधकहेतुं द्रढयन् स्वसम्प्रदायं संरक्षति । तथा हि- "ननु क्षणभंगे नार्थक्रियाप्रतीतिः नापि क्रमाक्रमप्रतीतिरिति कथं व्याप्तिव्यवस्था ? तथा च शंकरः—क्षणिकत्वे सर्वसंवित्तीनां स्वभावनियमेन हेतुफलभावयोःस्वरूपान्वयव्यतिरेकासिद्धौ सर्वत्र तदभावस्यावगन्तुमशक्यत्वात्...तदयं कार्यस्य हेतुसद्भावे भावं तद्भावे चाभावं प्रतिपद्य-मानोऽवस्थितं प्रतिसन्धातारं प्रसाधयति[१०]" इति ज्ञानश्रीमित्रषङ्क्त्या स्फुटं कण्ठतो व्यपदिशति प्रतिसन्धातृसिद्धिं शंकरः ।

एतन्मतं निरसितुमुद्यतः ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः कथयति—"तदेवं यथास्मृति कर्मफलसंबन्धाधिकमशेषमवस्थातारमन्तरेणापि न विपत्तिमासादयति क्षणिकवादिन इत्यादि[११] । "यतो हि क्रमभाविनीषु बुद्धिषु पूर्वपूर्वया बुद्धया मृगमदवासनावासितवसन इव संस्कारविशेषाधानादन्तिमा बुद्धिरस्येदं कार्यमिति मतिमुत्पादयितुं शक्नोतीति न प्रतिसन्धातुरिहानुरोध आवश्यक इति । अस्मिन् प्रसंगे ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः शंकरयुक्तेरुद्धरणावसरे तदीयं त्रिकपंचकचिन्तामिधं ग्रन्थं स्मरतीति महान् प्रमोदः संजायते ।

अस्याश्च कथायाः प्रतिवादः प्रथममुदयनेन पश्चात् तत्परवर्तिभिः विद्वद्भिरनेकत्र कृतः । प्रतिसन्धातुरभावे मात्रानुभूतानां विषयाणां गर्भस्थेन शिशुना स्मरणमापद्येत । तच्च सर्वजनानुभवविरुद्धमतः प्रतिसन्धाता स्वीकर्तव्य एवेति ।

२–५ ईश्वरसिद्धौ शंकरोऽयं बौद्धाचार्यस्य धर्मकीर्तेः प्रसिद्धामीश्वरबाधिकां युक्तिं पूर्वपक्षतया प्रथममुद्धरति - यादृशस्य कार्यस्य निर्माणं दृश्यते तादृशस्यैव कार्यस्य सहेतुकत्वं चेतनकर्तृत्वं चान्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां स्वीक्रियते न तु अदृष्टनिर्माणस्य कार्यस्य चेतनकर्तृत्वं मन्तव्यम् । अत एव घटादीनां कुम्भकारकर्तृत्वस्य दर्शनेन गिरिनदीप्रभृतिसंपन्नस्य भुवनस्य सकर्तृकत्वं नायाति । तत्कर्तृतया चेतरबाधसहकारात्मकानुमानेन न सिद्धयतीश्वरः[१२] ।

यदि चैकाकृतिकस्य वस्तुनः निर्माणं वीक्ष्य तद्भिन्नाकृतिकवस्तुषु चेतनकर्तृत्वं स्वीक्रियेत तदा पाण्डुरवर्णस्य धूमस्य, वह्नेरनुमितिजनकत्वे

तत्सदृशे पाण्डुरवर्णे हिमेऽपि वह्नेरनुमितिजनकतापद्येत । न चैतदभिमतं नैयायिकस्येति जगतः कर्तृतयेश्वरसिद्धिप्रयासो विफलः नैयायिकानाम्[13] ।

अत्र तन्मतं निरस्य स्वमतं विद्योतयितं शंकरः — तदिदमनिरूपितपराभिप्रायस्य व्याहृतमित्युक्त्या प्रक्रमते । तथा हि बुद्धिमत्कारणस्य सद्भावे भात्रो घटादावुपलभ्यते तत्रैव तद्विनिर्माणसमर्थकर्तृबुद्धिं जनयति तद्विदः । न चैवं पाण्डुत्वादयः, तेषां जात्यन्तरसमवायिनां अग्निव्यभिचारोपलब्धेः । तथा हि नहि अनधिष्ठितानां प्रयत्नवता करणकर्मणां क्रियासु स्वातन्त्र्यमुपलब्धपूर्वं सर्वत्र बुद्धिमदधिष्ठितेभ्य एव प्रासादादिप्रसवोपलब्धेः[14] '' इति ।

अयमभिप्रायः - यथा वास्यादि बुद्धिमता तक्ष्णा अधिष्ठितमचेतनत्वात् प्रवर्तते तथा प्रधानपरमाणुकर्माणि अचेतनानि प्रवर्तन्ते । तस्मात् तान्यपि बुद्धिमत्कारणाधिष्ठितानि[15] इति वदतः न्यायवार्तिककृत उद्योतकरस्य ईश्वरसाधकयुक्तौ दोषप्रदशनकुशलस्य धर्मकीर्तेर्मतं प्रथममुद्धरति पश्चात् सम्यगालोच्य सर्वजनानुभवसिद्धेन प्रमाणेन तन्निराकरोतीति स्वमतस्थापनकौशलं स्पृहणीयं शंकरस्य ।

पुनरस्मिन्नेव प्रसंगे ''अन्यादृशमेव कार्यं बुद्धिमता व्याप्तं यद्दृष्टेरक्रियादर्शिनोऽपि कृतबुद्धिरुत्पद्यते । तच्चासिद्धं सिन्धुभूधरादौ '' इति बौद्धानुयायिनं पृच्छति शंकरः — "किमियं कृतबुद्धिः साधनबुद्धिराहोस्वित् साध्यबुद्धिः ? नाद्यः कल्पः, कर्मजं लोकवैचित्र्यमित्यभ्युपगमात् इत्येषा बौद्धानां गृहेष्वपि सिद्धैव विद्यते । नान्त्यः कल्पः, तेनायमर्थो भवति नेदं क्षित्यादिषु उपलभ्यमानं साध्यानुमानसमर्थं कार्यत्वं किन्तु अन्यदेव साध्यबुद्धिजननात् । न चैतद् युक्तं सर्वानुमानोच्छेदप्रसंगात् । धूमादिष्वपि हि शक्यमेवं वक्तुम्—नायं वह्न्यनुमतिसमर्थो धूमः, किन्त्वन्य एव साध्यदर्शिनः साध्यबुद्ध्यजननात्[16] इति । एवंरीत्या दुरवगाहे गभीरतमे च प्रतिवादिसिद्धान्तसागरे तलप्रवेशकौशलं शंकरस्य बुद्धेः कुशाग्रतां परिचाययति । अथ च प्रतिवादिनां क्षोभं च जनयति । तूलराशिधूननस्येव तन्मतस्य विकल्पजालैर्निरस्तत्वात् ।

इह पुनः स्वसिद्धान्तमुद्घोषयति - "नापि कश्चिद्विशेषः क्षित्यादिहेतूनां प्रासादादिहेतुभ्यो येनामी निरभिप्रायव्यापाराः सन्तः प्रयत्नवन्निरपेक्षाः प्रतिनियमवता च व्यापारेण तद्वन्तः स्युः[17] " इति ।

३–१ ज्ञानश्रीमित्रनिबन्धावलेः अतिप्राचीने बौद्धाचार्यस्य शान्तरक्षितस्य तत्त्वसंग्रहेऽपि आत्मपरीक्षाप्रकरणेऽन्यत्र च नैयायिकशंकरस्य मतं दृश्यते । तथा हि इच्छादयः क्वचिदाश्रिताः वस्तुत्वे सति कार्यत्वादित्यनुमानेन इच्छादिगुणानामाधारतया प्रसिद्धनैयायिकयुक्त्यात्मानं साधयति शंकरः । पुनरत्र हेतौ

वस्तुत्वविशेषणस्य सार्थक्यं प्रदर्शन्नयं हेत्वाभासभेदं निरस्यति । कार्यत्वस्य नाशे सत्वेऽपि वस्तुत्वस्य तत्राभावान्न कश्चिद्दोष उद्भावनीय[18] इति ।

३–२ अवयवावयविभेदसमर्थनावसरे पुनस्तत्र शंकरः कथयति - "वाससः कषायकुंकुमादिद्रव्येण संयोगः राग उच्यते । संयोगश्चाव्याप्यवृत्तिः, ततो न रक्त एकस्मिन् सर्वस्य रागो भवति । न च वस्त्रादिभिः शरीरैकदेशस्यावरणे सर्वस्यावरणम्[19]" इति ।

३–३ पुनरपरस्मिन् प्रसंगेऽवयविनं साधयितुकामः शंकरः कथयति— "स्वातन्त्र्येण प्रसंगमुखेन वा यत् साधनं क्रियते तत् स्वयमुपलब्धौ सत्यां संगच्छते । अन्यथा हि असिद्धता दोषः स्यात् । न च भवताक्वचिदप्येकस्यानेकस्मिन् कात्स्न्यैंकदेशाभ्यां वृत्तिरुपलब्धा । यस्याः वृत्तेरसंभवात् अवयविद्रव्यमसत् स्यात् । सति संभवेऽपरोऽपि भवेदवयवोऽवयवी च"[20] इति ।

३–४ सामान्यपदार्थपरीक्षायां सामान्यं नैयायिकसम्मतं साधयितुं शंकरोऽभिलपति - " पाचकाद्यनुवृत्तिप्रत्ययस्तत्कर्मजातिसंबद्धया क्रियया योगस्तस्मात् भवति । तेनोपरतक्रियेऽपि क्रियया ध्रुवनिमित्तस्योपलक्षणात् नापाचकादित्यवसेयम्[21]" इति ।

एवमेतस्य मतानां चर्चा सुखादीनां मानसप्रत्यक्षनिरूपणावसरे प्रमाणफलनिश्चयावसरे[23] शब्दलक्षणकाले[24]ऽन्यत्र[25] च दृश्यते ।

इत्थं खण्डनमण्डनक्रमे द्वादशतोऽधिकेषु विचारणीयस्थलेषु नैयायिकबौद्धयोः विवादास्पदेषु खृष्टीयाष्टमशतककालप्रभवेन शान्तरक्षिताचार्येण तट्टीकाकृता तच्छिष्येण कमलशीलेन च शंकरस्य मतानि सन्दर्भेषु संरक्षितानि इति तयोः कृतज्ञता स्वीकर्तव्यास्माभिः ।

४ उपसंहारः

ज्ञानश्रीमित्रोद्धृतः शंकरः शान्तरक्षितोल्लिखितशंकरेण सहाभिन्न इत्यत्र अस्माकमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तिरेव प्रमाणतयोपन्यसितुं शक्या वर्तते । यतो हि उभयत्र विवादास्पदेषु शंकराभिधपूर्वपक्षिणः मतसंग्रह एव दृश्यते न तु एतस्य कश्चिद् परिचयः अन्यतरस्मिन्नपि ग्रन्थे लभ्यते ।

एतावद्भिः सन्दर्भैः शास्त्रार्थविचारजातस्य यः स्वरूपो नैयायिकाचार्यशंकरस्य प्रकाशमायाति तस्मात् वयं जानीमः——अयं वार्तिककृत उद्द्योतकरस्य सिद्धान्तानां समर्थकः आसीत् अस्य च मतानां समर्थनं न्यायभूषणकारः भासर्वज्ञाचार्यं अकरोत् । ज्ञानश्रीमित्रेण शंकरोक्तिसमर्थकतया न्यायभूषणकारस्य समुल्लिखितत्वात्[26] । अस्य विचारे च तलप्रवेशिता परिणाहः गाम्भीर्यं च परिलक्ष्यन्ते । परिवर्तिषु-न्यायमर्मज्ञेषु उदयनाद्यनेकेषु आचार्येषु परोक्षतया साक्षाद्वा एतन्मतप्रभावोऽवलो-

F. 25

क्यते । अयं च प्रतिवादिनां सिद्धान्तसाधकं प्रमाणं स्वमतबाधिकां युक्तिं च तथा खण्डयति यथा द्विधा प्रयतमानस्य प्रतिपक्षिणः मुखं पिहितं भवति शास्त्रार्थश्च संवर्द्धत इति शम् ।।

सन्दर्भसूत्राणि:——

१- द्र० न्यायपरिशुद्धिः

२- „ ज्ञान० नि० भूमिका पृ० ३

३- „ „ „ पृ० १५७ (पटना, १९५९ संस्करणम्)

४- „ „ „ पृ० ११ „

५- „ „ „ पृ० १८ „

६- „ न्यायकुसुमांजलिः १/७/ गद्यभागः

७- „ „ १/१६ „

८- „ ज्ञान० नि० पृ० २१,

९- „ „ „ पृ० ३३ „

१०- „ „ „ पृ० ६६, „

११- „ „ „ पृ० ७९, „

१२- „ सिद्धं यादृगधिष्ठातृ भावाभावानुवृत्तिमत् ।
सन्निवेशादि तद्युक्तं तस्माद् यदनुमीयते ।।
प्रमाणवार्तिकम् ।। १।१३ ।।

१३- वस्तुभेदे प्रसिद्धस्य शब्दसाम्यादभेदिवः ।
न युक्तानुमितिः पाण्डुद्रव्यादिवद् हुताशने ।।
प्रमाणवार्तिकम् ।। १।१४ ।।

१४- द्र० ज्ञान नि पृ० २३४,

१५- „ न्यायवार्तिकम् ४/१/२१

१६- „ ज्ञान० नि पृ० २३५,

१७- „ „ „ पृ० २३९, „

१८- „ तत्वसंग्रहः पृ० २०४,(का०सं० १७८-९ काशी १९६८ संस्करणम्)

१९= ,, ,, ,, पृ० २४८, ,, ५९९ ,,
२०- ,, ,, ,, पृ० २५३ ,, ६१३-६१७ ,,.
२१- ,, ,, पृ० ३०५ ,, ७५४, ,,
२२- ,, ,, पृ० ४८६ ,, १३३९, ,,
२३- ,, ,, पृ० ४९१ ,, १३५२-५५ ,,
२४- ,, ,, पृ० ५३० ,, १४८८-९८, ,,
२५- ,, ,, पृ० ८२८ ,, २५१९-२९ ,,
२६- ,, ज्ञा० नि० पृ० १९,

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व्याघातालङ्कारविषयविमर्शः

गोपराजु रामा

इलाहाबाद

[लेखेऽस्मिन् व्याघातालङ्कारस्योत्पत्तिविकासौ प्रदर्श्येते ।
तदनु विहितेष्वेतल्लक्षणेषु औचित्यानौचित्यं विमृश्यते ।
ततश्च पण्डितराजोक्तलक्षणवैशिष्ट्यमपि प्रस्तूयते ।]

व्याघातनामाऽऽलङ्कारोऽयमलङ्कारेष्वन्यतमः । अयं रुद्रटकालादेवोदभूत् । व्याघात इति कश्चनालङ्कारः रुद्रटेनैव प्रस्तावितः । स चातिशयप्रधानमूलकेष्वलङ्कारेषु लक्षित इत्थम् । यथा—

अन्यैरप्रतिहतमपि कारणमुत्पादनं न कार्यस्य ।
यस्मिन्नभिधीयेत व्याघातः स इति विज्ञेयः ।।[1]

इति ।

यत्र किञ्चित् कारणं कस्याप्यन्यस्य कारणस्य विरोधी नैव भवदपि स्वस्मादुत्पाद्यमानं कार्यं नैवोत्पाद्येत तत्र व्याघातालङ्कार इत्यस्याः कारिकायास्तात्पर्यम् ।

पुर्वरूपेणोत्पन्नोऽप्ययमलङ्कारः आनन्दवर्धनादिमम्मटाचार्यपर्यन्तैरालङ्कारिकैर्नैवाहृतः । मम्मटाचार्येणास्य रूपान्तरेणोत्पत्तिः कृता । सोऽयं विरोधमूलकालङ्कारेषु लक्षितश्च । स च यथा—

यद्यथा साधितं केनाप्यपरेण तदन्यथा ।
तथैव यद्विधीयेत स व्याघात इति स्मृतः ।।[2]

इति ।

विचार्यमाणे व्याघातालङ्कारस्य वास्तविकी उत्पत्तिः मम्मटकालादेव समजनीति वक्तुं शक्यते । रुद्रटकृतात् लक्षणादिदमवगम्यते यत् यत्र कारणं कार्यस्याजनकमुच्येत स व्याघातालङ्कार इति । अस्य लक्षणस्य विशेषोक्त्यलङ्कारेऽतिव्याप्तिः स्यात् कारणसत्त्वे कार्यासत्त्वरूपतत्त्वस्य तत्राङ्गीकारात् । तस्मात् व्याघातालङ्कारस्थ स्वरूपमभिधानीयं स्यात् । तच्च मम्मटाचार्यैरेवोक्तम्

१—रुद्रटकृतकाव्यालङ्कारः अ ६, का ४२ ।
२—काव्यप्रकाशः का १३१–१३२, सू २०६ ।

तेन कृतयथोक्तलक्षणे कारणं कार्यस्याजनकमिति नैवोच्यते । एकस्मात् कारणात् कार्यद्वयमुत्पाद्यते । अत एव रुद्रटमम्मटकृतयोरनयोर्लक्षणयोः परस्परं वैषम्यं वर्तते ।

अलङ्कारस्यास्य यो विकासः सञ्जातः स विश्वनाथकालादिति बुध्यते । तेन व्याघातस्य भेदद्वयं प्रतिपादितम् । परन्तु यत् सामान्यलक्षणं वर्तते विश्वनाथकृतस्य तेन सह मम्मटकृतं लक्षणं साम्यमनुभवति । यतो हि द्वयोरप्याचार्ययोः व्याघातालङ्कारसामान्यलक्षणमिदमेवाभिप्रेतं यत् कारणेनैकेन विभिन्नकर्तृकार्यवैषम्यमिति ।

यद् यथा साधितं केनाप्यपरेण तदन्यथा ।
तथैव यद्विधीयेत स व्याघात इति स्मृतः ।।

इति मम्मटकृतं व्याघातलक्षणम् ।

व्याघातः स तु केनापि वस्तु येन यथा कृतम् ।
तेनैव चेदुपायेन कुरुतेऽन्यस्तदन्यथा ।।
सौकर्येण च कार्यस्य विरुद्धं क्रियते यदि[3] ।।

इति विश्वनाथकृतं व्याघातलक्षणम् । द्वयोः पारस्परिकं साम्यमेवं वर्तते ।

मम्मटः	विश्वनाथः
केनापि यत् यथा साधितं अपरेण तत् अन्यथा विधीयते स व्याघातः ।	केनापि उपायेन वस्तु येन यथा कृतं तेनैव तत् अन्यः अन्यथा कुरुते स व्याघातः

विद्यानाथेन स्वकीये प्रतापरुद्रीयेऽपि अनयैव दिशा व्याघातालङ्कारलक्षणं निर्मितम् । तद्यथा—

येन यत् साधितं वस्तु तेनैव क्रियतेऽन्यथा ।
अन्येन तदलङ्कारो व्याघात इति कथ्यते[4] ।।

इति ।

विचार्यमाणे सति एषु लक्षणेषु सामान्यतः इदमेव प्रतिभाति यत् "यद्वस्तु येन केनचित् कर्त्रा येन साधनेन साधितं तद् वस्तु तेनैव साधनेनान्येन कर्त्रा तदन्यथा क्रियते स व्याघात" इति ।

३—साहित्यदर्पणः परि १० का ७५-७६ ।
४—प्रतापरुद्रीयम्—अर्थालङ्कारप्रकरणम् का २५५ ।

विश्वनाथेन व्याघातालङ्कारस्य भेदान्तरं यत् प्रदर्शितं तदेव चन्द्रालोके जयदेवेनापि व्यरचि । तद् यथा—

सौकर्येण च कार्यस्य विरुद्धं क्रियते यदि

इति विश्वनाथकृतं व्याघातालङ्कारप्रभेदलक्षणम् ।

सौकर्येण निबद्धापि क्रियाकार्यविरोधिनी

इति जयदेवनिर्मितं व्याघातालङ्कारप्रभेदलक्षणम् । द्वयोरप्यनयोः साम्यमित्थम् ।

विश्वनाथः	जयदेवः
सौकर्येण च कार्यस्य विरुद्धं क्रियते यदि	सौकर्येण निबद्धापि क्रिया कार्यविरोधिनी

अलङ्कारोऽयं अप्पय्यदीक्षितकाले पुनर्विकासं लेभे । तेन जयदेवोक्तं व्याघातालङ्कारसामान्यलक्षणं स्वीकृतम् । स्वीकृत्य तस्य द्विधा व्याख्यानं विधायि । तद्धि

स्याद्व्याघातोऽन्यथाकारि तथाकारि क्रियेत चेत् ।

इति । अस्य तेन विहितं व्याख्यानद्वयमित्थम्—

"यद् यत्साधनत्वेन लोकेऽवगतं तत् केनचित् तद्विरुद्धसाधनं क्रियते चेत्स व्याघातः । यद्वा-यत्, साधनतया केनचिदुपात्तं तदन्येन तत्प्रतिद्वन्द्विना तद्विरुद्धसाधनं क्रियते चेत्सोऽपि व्याघात :" ६ । इति ।

अत्र यत् द्वितीयं व्याख्यानं वर्तते तत् विश्वनाथकृतात् लक्षणात् सादृश्यं लभते ।

विश्वनाथः	अप्पय्यदीक्षितः
केनापि उपायेन वस्तु येन यथा कृतं तेनैव तत् अन्यः अन्यथा कुरुते स व्याघातः ।	यद् यत्साधनत्वेन लोकेऽवगतं तत् केनचित् तद्विरुद्धसाधनं क्रियते चेत् स व्याघातः

तेनैव व्याघातालङ्कारप्रभेदस्य लक्षणमेवं विरचितम् । "कार्यविशेषनिष्पादकतया केनचित्संभाव्यमानादर्थादन्येन कार्यविरोधिक्रियासौकर्येण समर्थ्यते चेत् सोऽपि व्याघातः" ७ । इति

५—चन्द्रालोकः का १०३ ।

६—कुवलयानन्दः १०२ कारिकागतवृत्तिः ।

७—कुवलयानन्दः १०३ कारिकागतवृत्तिः

अस्यायं श्लोक : उदाहरणान्तरत्वेन प्रदर्शितः। स च-
लुब्धो न विसृजत्यर्थं नरो दारिद्र्यशङ्कया।
दातापि विसृजत्यर्थं तयैव ननु शङ्कया ८॥

इति।

अत्र दानाभावरूपकार्यविशेषनिष्पादकतया लुब्धेन संभाव्यमानादर्थात् दात्रा दानरूपकार्यविरोधिक्रियासौकर्येण समर्थितम्। अत एवात्र व्याघात इति दीक्षिताः मन्वते।

पण्डितराजः अमुं श्लोकं व्याघातालङ्कारोदाहरणत्वेन न स्वीकृतवान्। अयं व्याघातालङ्कारोदाहरणं न भवतीति तस्य मतम्। तदेव मनसि निधायोक्तम्-"तन्न" इति। परन्तु केन प्रकारेणात्र व्याघातालङ्कारो नास्तीति तेन न प्रपञ्चितम्। तस्याभावः कथमत्राकूत्यत इति प्रतिपाद्यते सङ्क्षेपतः। तथाहि।

तत्रादौ पण्डितराजोक्तं व्याघातालङ्कारलक्षणं प्रदर्शयामः। तच्च—

यत्र एकेन कर्त्रा येन कारणेन यत् किंचित् कार्यं निष्पादितं निष्पिपादयिषितं वा तदन्येन कर्त्रा तेनैव कारणेन तद्विरुद्धकार्यस्य निष्पादनेन निष्पिपादयिषया वा व्याहन्यते स व्याघात इति ९॥

एवं स्थिते सति लक्षणे पूर्वपक्षोऽत्र समुदेति यत् "लुब्धो न विसृजत्यर्थं"....
इत्यस्मिन् श्लोके पण्डितराजोक्तं व्याघातालङ्कारलक्षणं समन्वितं भवति। यथा—

यत्र एकेन कर्त्रा=लुब्धेन, येन कारणेन=दारिद्र्यशङ्कारूपकारणेन, कार्यम्=अर्थाविसर्जनरूपं किञ्चित् निष्पादितं, तत् अन्येन कर्त्रा=दात्रा, तेनैव कारणेन=दारिद्र्यशङ्कारूपकारणेन, तद्विरुद्धकार्यस्य=अर्थविसर्जनरूपकार्यस्य, निष्पादनेन व्याहन्यते। अतो व्याघात इति। तस्मात् पण्डितराजोक्तव्याघातालङ्कारस्योदाहरणं भवितुं शक्यत इति पूर्वपक्षः।

न चात्र लक्षणस्य यथाविशेषणं समन्वयमात्रादेव व्याघातालङ्कारः स्वीकर्तव्य इति वाच्यम्।

पाण्डित्येन प्रचण्डेन येन माद्यन्ति दुर्जनाः।
तेनैव सज्जना रूढा यान्ति शान्तिमनुत्तमाम्॥

इति पण्डितराजोक्त-व्याघातालङ्कारप्रत्युदाहरणेऽतिव्याप्त्यापत्तेः।

८—कुवलयानन्दः श्लो १०३
९—रसगङ्गाधरः, व्याघातालङ्कारप्रकरणम्।

तर्हि यत् पण्डितराजेन "तन्न" इत्युक्तं पदद्वयं तत् कथं सङ्गच्छते ? इति चेदत्रोच्यते ।

तत्र तावत् पण्डितराजेन स्वकीयव्याघातालङ्कारलक्षणे यत् "कर्तृ" पदं वर्तते तस्यार्थः एवं विवक्षितः । कर्तृत्वं नाम कार्योद्देश्येन प्रवृत्तित्वम् । कार्योद्देश्यत्वं च विरुद्धकार्यकरणोद्देश्यत्वम् ।

प्रकृतश्लोके लुब्धकृताविसर्जनरूपकार्यात् विरुद्धं कार्यं कर्तुं दाता नैव प्रवृत्तः । तेनैव प्रकारेण दातृकृतार्थविसर्जरूपकार्यात् विरुद्धकार्यं कर्तुं लुब्धोऽपि नैव प्रवृत्तः । एवं च पण्डितराजः स्वाभिमतकर्तृत्वमत्र द्वयोरपि नास्तीति कृत्वा व्याघातालङ्कारस्यात्यन्ताभावत्वमेव मनुते ।

अपि च लोकसिद्धार्थेन व्याहतिर्नैव भवति । व्याहतिमन्तरा व्याघातालङ्कारः नैव स्थातुं शक्यते । अत्र योऽर्थः वर्तते स तु लोकसिद्ध एव । तस्मात् व्याहतिर्नास्ति । यदि लुब्धस्य पार्श्वे यदविसर्जिनकर्मविषयीभूतं धनं स्यात् तदेव यदि दात्रा विसर्जनकर्मविषयीभूतं कृतं स्यात् तर्हि व्याघातालङ्कारः भवितुं शक्यते । तदानीं दारिद्र्यशङ्कायाः कारणत्वकल्पने किमपि तात्पर्यं नास्ति । यदि लुब्धेन दारिद्र्यशङ्कया धनं न त्यक्तं तर्हि दातुः का बाधा स्यात् ? द्वयोरपि पार्श्वे धनं वर्तते । लुब्धेन इह लोके दारिद्र्यशङ्कया धनं न त्यक्तम् । परन्तु दात्रा लुब्धीयं धनं न त्यक्तम् । तस्मात् लोकसिद्धोऽयमर्थः नैव व्याहन्तुं शक्यत इति नात्र व्याघातालङ्कार इति पण्डितराजस्याशयः ।

किं च व्याघातालङ्कारे व्यतिरेकप्रतिभोत्थापकत्वमपि पण्डितराजेन विवक्षितम् । प्रकृते व्याहतिरेव नास्ति येन व्याघातलक्षणमेव मृग्यमभूत् । एवं स्थिते सति व्यतिरेकप्रतिभोत्थापकत्वस्य का कथा ?

एवं चैतावदेव रहस्यं "तन्न" इति पदद्वयान्तर्गतमिति सुध्युपास्यया वृत्याऽवलोकयन्तु सहृदयाः ।

तथा च श्लोके विपरिणमिते सति प्रकृतालङ्कारस्योदाहरणं भवितुं शक्यते । स च

इहैषी न त्यजत्यर्थं नरो दारिद्र्यशङ्कया ।
परैषी तु त्यजत्यर्थं तदेव ननु शङ्कया ।।

इति शम् *

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*Paper submitted to the 26th AIOC, Ujjain.

अन्नम्भट्टः

एस्०बि०रघुनाथाचार्य
तिरुपति

मीमांसान्यायवेदान्तपदतन्त्रविभासुरः ।
चतुर्भुज इवार्योऽयमन्नम्भट्टो विराजते ।।

नूनमिदमत्याश्चर्यकरं जागर्ति नश्चेतसि भगवदनुग्रहभाजनजीवलोके लोकेऽस्मिन् प्राक्तनसुकृतपरिपाकवशात् कदाचित् प्रतिष्ठावहे कार्ये कस्यचित् चेतनस्य बुद्धिर्व्याप्रियत इति । नायं व्यापारः सर्वजनसाधारण इति सर्वजनीनोऽनुभवः । यत उच्चावचं जगत् दरीदृश्यते अस्माभि : । अतिकठोरशास्त्राध्ययनाध्यापनाचरणप्रचारणादिभिः शोषितगात्राणां, नष्टजीवितानां केषाञ्चिन्महोदयानां गोत्रप्रादुर्भूता वयं नूनं धन्याः धन्यतमा भाग्यशालिन इत्यत्र नास्ति संशीतिलेशः । वयं तेषां सर्वदा सर्वथा च अधमर्णा इत्यत्र न हि विप्रतिपद्यते कश्चित् विपश्चित् । 'तरुः प्रसूते पुष्पाणि मरुद्वहतिसौरभम्' इतिवत् कन्यादात्रपेक्षया प्रतिग्रहीता जामाता यथा तस्याः लावण्यसौकुमार्यादिपरिरक्षणेन भृशं लोकेनाभिनन्द्यते तथा शास्त्रप्रवर्तकापेक्षया विशेषत इदानीन्तने समये बहुविधप्रचारैस्तत्संरक्षका महाभागा नूनमभिनन्द्या इति मदीयोऽभिसन्धिः । येषां विशालदृशां दृढतरप्रयत्नेन शास्त्राणीमानि लब्धप्रचारप्रतिष्ठानि विलसन्ति तराम् ।

तत्र अतिजटिले पारिभाषिकशब्दधातुकमृगप्रचुरे परिष्कारविषकण्टकाकीर्णे अतिविषमे न्यायशास्त्रारण्ये प्रविविक्षूणां सुखप्रवेशाय सरलसरलां रीतिमनुसृत्य मृदुलां रमणीयां रथ्यामारचय्य स्वागतं ब्रुवाणो मन्दस्मितफुल्लमुखारविन्दस्तत्रभवान् अन्नम्भट्टः प्रथममस्माकं दृग्गोचरी भवति ।

अन्नम्भट्टोऽयं 'श्रीमदद्वैतविद्याचार्य' विरुदविभ्राजमानस्य श्रीमद्राघवसोमयाजिकुलतिलकस्य श्रीमत्तिरुमलार्यवर्यस्य पुत्रः कौशिकगोत्रोद्भवः ऋग्वेदी स्मार्तः ब्राह्मणः ।

—देशः—

अयमान्ध्रदेशेकृष्णातीरस्थगरिकपाडुनामकग्रामे ब्राह्मणगृहे लब्धजन्मा तत्रैव उवासेति श्रूयते । प्रायशस्तन्नामको ग्रामः कृष्णामण्डलपश्चिमभागे स्यादिति सम्भाव्यते । यद्वा ग्रामोऽयमितःप्राक् निजां आलीपरिपालनेऽपि स्थित इति वदन्ति विज्ञाः ।. वार्धक्येऽयं पुत्रैरपुष्टः विरक्तश्च सन श्रीशैलक्षेत्रस्थमल्लिकार्जुनदर्शनार्थं

गत इत्यपि एनमान्ध्रदेशवासिनं सूचयति। आन्ध्रप्रदेशे च मल्लिकार्जुनक्षेत्रं श्रीशैलमिति प्रथितं पुण्यक्षेत्रम्।

— कालः—

अन्नम्भट्टोऽयं कदा भुवं निजजीवनेन अलञ्चकारेत्यत्र विवदन्ते परिशोधकाः। श्रीमान् R B. Godbole महोदयः 'भरतखंडाचा ऐतिहासिक कोष' नामके स्वीये ग्रन्थे चालुक्यराजानां समये पञ्चदशशतके अयं जीवति स्मेति विलिखति। इदन्त्वस्माकमनुभवविरुद्धं वचः प्रतिभाति। यतः अन्नम्भट्टोऽसौ श्रीमतः गदाधरस्य विश्वनाथस्य चानन्तरकालिक इति तदीयरचनाभि: सुस्पष्टीभवति। गदाधरश्च षोडशशतकान्ते न्यवसदिति चारित्रिकाणामभिप्रायः। अतः तदनन्तरं विश्वनाथः, तदनन्तरं अयञ्चेति सप्तदशशतक प्रारम्भे उवासायमिति वक्तुं शक्यते। कथञ्चिदपि गदाधरात्पूर्ववर्तित्वमस्य दुस्साधम्। यतः तर्कसङ्ग्रहदीपिकाव्याख्यानस्य पण्डितसमाजे 'बालगादाधरी'त्यपि प्रथा वरीवर्ति। अपि चायं रघुनाथभट्टाचार्यशिरोमणेः 'प्रतियोगितावच्छेदकारोप्यसंसर्गभेदादेकप्रतियोगिकयोः' इत्यादिपंङ्क्ति तथैव स्वदीपिकायां अन्योन्याभावव्याख्यनावसरे निवेशयति। तेनेदं ज्ञायते दीधितिकारादर्वाचीनोऽयमिति। दीधितिकारस्तु षोडशशतके न्यवसदिति निरणायि। १५२० प्रान्ते एव दीधितिग्रन्थः प्रणीत इति ज्ञायते। अतः पञ्चदशशतकेऽस्य स्थितिः दूरापास्ता। सिद्धान्तमुक्तावलीप्रणेता विश्वनाथन्यायपञ्चाननः तत्सोदरः रुद्रभट्टश्च १६२५ प्रान्ते न्यवसताम्। रुद्रभट्टेन च दीधितिग्रन्थस्य व्याख्या काचन प्रणीता। अत उपलब्धचारित्रकांशपरिशीलनेन अस्माकं एवं मनीषा काचन प्रादुर्भवति यत्—गदाधरविश्वनाथयोरनन्तरकालिकोऽयमन्नम्भट्टः सप्तदशशतकप्रारम्भे स्वजीवनेन भारतीयानानन्दयति स्मेति।*

—विद्याभ्यासः—

महोदयोऽयं कौण्डिन्यपुरमिति प्रथिते कोण्डवीडुनगरे न्यायशास्त्रमध्यैत द्वादशवर्षपर्यन्तम्। ततः गरिकपाडुग्राममागत्य तत्र काञ्चन संस्कृतकलाशालां संस्थाप्य शिष्येभ्यः न्यायशास्त्रप्रवचनं कुर्वन्नासीत्। गच्छता कालेन अयं वाराणसीं गत्वा सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रेभ्यः श्रीशेषवीरेश्वर-पण्डितादिभ्यः इतराणि बहूनि शास्त्राण्यधीत्य स्वदेशमाजगाम। तर्कव्याकरणमीमांसावेदान्तशास्त्रेष्वप्रतीहतबुद्धिरयं स्वबुद्धिवैभवनिकषोपलान् ग्रन्थान् विरचयामास। अत एव आन्ध्रदेशेऽद्यापि विद्वत्समाजे आभाणकमिदं प्रचुरप्रचारं विलसतितराम्।—यत्—

'काशीगमनमात्रेण नान्नम्भट्टायते द्विजः'

इति।

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*See *Tarkasaṁgraha*, p. 62, line 24, BORI Poona, 1963.

—ग्रन्थरचना—

महानुभावेनानेन न्यायवेदान्तव्याकरणमीमांसाशास्त्रेषु ग्रन्था विरचिताः। तत्र न्याये—

१. तर्कसङ्ग्रहः

२. तर्कसङ्ग्रहदीपिका

३. सुबुद्धिमनोहरा (दीधितिव्याख्या)

४. सिद्धाञ्जनम् (जयदेवतत्त्वचिन्तामण्यालोकव्याख्या)

५. न्यायपरिशिष्टप्रकाशः (श्री–उदयनाचार्यन्यायपरिशिष्टव्याख्या)

व्याकरणशास्त्रे—

१. मिताक्षरा (अष्टाध्यायीव्याख्या)

२. स्वरविवेकः

३. महाभाष्यंप्रदीपोद्योतनम् (कैयटग्रन्थव्याख्या)

मीमांसायाम्—

१. सुबोधिनी (तन्त्रवार्तिकटीका)

२. सुधासारः - राणकोज्जीविनी (भट्टसोमेश्वरकृतन्यायसुधाव्याख्या)

वेदान्ते—

१. मिताक्षरा (ब्रह्मसूत्रवृत्तिः)

२. तत्त्वविवेकदीपनव्याख्या

एवं चतुर्षु शास्त्रेषु प्रमाणिकान् द्वादश ग्रन्थान् प्रणिनाय । सर्वेष्वपि तेषु तर्कसङ्ग्रहेणैव प्रतिष्ठाऽस्य दिगन्तविश्रान्ता सुस्थिरं स्थानमस्य सम्पादितवतीति प्रेक्षावन्त उत्पश्यन्ति । अस्याग्रजेन रामकृष्णभट्टेन सिद्धान्तरत्नमिति सिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्यानं प्रणीतम् ।

—प्रशस्तिः—

यस्य देवे परा भक्तिः यथा देवे तथा गुरौ ।
तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ।।

इति दैवगुर्वनुग्रहसनाथोऽयं बहुलार्थप्रकाशमुपगम्य शोभते तराम् । चतुश्शास्त्रविद्वानसौ प्रसन्नमनाः चतुर्भुजश्रीमन्नारायण इव धर्मार्थकाममोक्षविज्ञानप्रदः निराडम्बरो विराजते स्म । अतिगम्भीरं शास्त्रसागरमामथ्य स्वयमनुभूतान् सिद्धान्तमणीन् ग्रन्थरूपेण प्रकटचकार्षीदयम् ।

यद्यपि प्राचीनोऽयमथापि दृष्टिरस्य नव्या रमणीया च । स्वव्याख्यानेषु बहुत्राऽयं 'पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वम्' इति कालिदाससूक्तिं स्मरति । अस्य शास्त्र-सम्प्रदायपरिपालने महानभिनिवेशः । व्याकरणग्रन्थरचनावसरे केवलं पूर्णो वैयाकरण इव तत्सम्प्रदायानुराधमेव स्वलेखिनीं प्रवर्तयति । न स्वतार्किकप्रज्ञां तत्र निरूप्य मुग्ध-जनमोहसंवर्धको सिद्धान्तसङ्करकारी वोभवीति । समुद्र इवायं परस्परविरुद्धरसानां शास्त्रापगानामाकरो विराजते । भारतीयानां हि दर्शनिकानां बहूनां व्याकरणशास्त्रे नातीव परिचयो वर्तते । अन्येषु शास्त्रेषु अनितरसाध्यां प्रतिष्ठां प्राप्यापि व्याकरणं तैरुदासितम् । निरन्तरतत्त्वार्थविचारणाव्यापृतधियां तेषां विरक्तचेतसां शब्दो-त्पत्तिविचारणे तावदल्पीयानादर इव । व्याकरणे लब्धप्रतिष्ठानां सुगृहीतनामधेयानां तादात्विकविपश्चितां दार्शनिकरङ्गे परिचयोऽपि नातिमहान् । उभयत्रापि निष्णाताः विपश्चिदपश्चिमाः विलसन्ति विरलसंख्याकाः । तेष्वन्यतमोऽयमन्नम्भट्ट इति महदिदं प्रमोदस्थानम् ।

एतद्ग्रन्थपरिशीलनेन--रचनाप्रणालिकावलोडनेन चेदमस्माकं अतिरोहितं भवति यत्—बहुशास्त्राध्ययनाध्यापनक्लेशमनुभूतवतोऽस्य मनसि एतादृशी मनीषा समुत्पन्ना स्यात् "सम्प्रत्येव दुरधिगमाणीमानि शास्त्राणि भवन्ति । बिभ्यति चोत्सुका विद्यार्थिनः पारिभाषिकपदाडम्बरपटहप्रणादेन । कति वा दुरधिगमदुर्गम-शास्त्रकान्तारेऽस्मिन् जनाः सोत्साहं पदं निदधति ? तेषु कति पुनः लब्धविजयाः शास्त्रसम्प्रदायं परिरक्षितुं बद्धकङ्कणा विलसन्ति ? इति । तयैव मनीषया सः शास्त्रार्थसङ्ग्रहं कर्तुमुद्यतः तर्कसङ्ग्रहं प्रणिनाय । सर्वेष्वपि शास्त्रेषु न्यायशास्त्रे विद्यमाना दुरवगाहता अनन्यसाधारणीत्याकलय्य प्रथमतस्तर्कसंग्रहरचने कृतप्रयत्न इति मन्यामहे । 'अल्पापि मात्रा बहुलो गुणश्च' इति न्यायानुरोधं न्याय-वैशेषिकसमन्वयरूपेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे सूत्ररूपेण शास्त्रं सर्वमपि संगृहीतं वर्तते । तत्रापि परस्परभिन्नसिद्धान्तप्रदर्शनावसरेऽपि अस्य लेखिनी मितं प्रवर्तमाना विद्वन्मण्डलीप्रस्तुतियोग्या सञ्जाता । यद्यपि विश्वनाथमयं सर्वात्मनाऽनुकरोति अथापि स्वीयप्रज्ञामपि तत्र तत्र प्रचालयतीति विशेषतो व्यासान्तरेऽस्माभिः परामृष्टं वरीवर्ति ।

—तर्कसंग्रहः—

अनेन प्रणीतेषु द्वादशग्रन्थेषु तर्कसंग्रहद्वारैवास्य नाम लोकप्रसिद्धमुपजात-मित्यत्र न कस्यापि विप्रतिपत्तिः । अस्य ग्रन्थस्य कियान् लोकादर इत्यत्र अनेकाः तद्व्याख्या एव प्रमाणम्—

१. तर्कसंग्रहदीपिका—अन्नम्भट्टेनैव प्रणीता

२: न्यायबोधिनी—गोवर्धनमिश्रः

३. सिद्धान्तचन्द्रोदयः—श्रीकृष्णधूर्जटिदीक्षितः
४. पदकृत्यम्—चन्द्रजसिंहः
५. तर्कसंग्रहतत्त्वप्रकाशः (नीलकण्ठी)—नीलकण्ठः
६. निरुक्तिः--पट्टाभिरामटिप्पणी–पट्टाभिरामः--माधवपदाभिरामः
७. तर्कसंग्रहवाक्यार्थनिरुक्तिः—निरुक्तिः
८. तर्कसंग्रहसुखप्रवेशिनी—श्रीमान् U.T. वीरराघवाचार्याः
९. तर्कसंग्रहचन्द्रिका--मुकुन्द भट्ट गाडगील
१०. तर्कसंग्रहव्याख्या--वाक्यवृत्तिः--मेरुशास्त्री गोडबोले
११. तर्कसंग्रहटीका—अनन्तनारायणः
१२. तर्कफक्किका—क्षमाकल्याणः
१३. न्यायार्थलघुबोधिनी—गोवर्धनरङ्गाचार्यः
१४. तर्कसंग्रहटीका--गौरीकान्तः
१५. निरुक्तिः— जगन्नाथशास्त्री
१६. न्यायबोधिनी—शुक्लरत्ननाथः
१७. तर्कसंग्रहटीका-- रामनाथः
१८. तर्कसंग्रहतरङ्गिणी – विन्ध्येश्वरीप्रसादः
१९. तर्कसंग्रहटीका--विश्वनाथः
२०. तर्कचन्द्रिका--प्रभा--वैद्यनाथ गाडगील
२१. तर्कसंग्रहटीका--हनुमान् (व्यासपुत्रः)
२२. तर्कसंग्रहव्याख्या—मुरारिः
२३. तर्कसंग्रहोपन्यासः—अविदितकर्तृकः
२४. तर्कसंग्रहटीका— ,,
२५. तर्कसंग्रहशङ्का— ,,
२६. न्यायचन्द्रिका— ,,

—दीपिकाव्याख्यानानि—

१. तर्कसंग्रहदीपिकाप्रकाशः--नीलकण्ठप्रकाशिका--नीलकण्ठशास्त्री
,, तद्व्याख्या—रामभद्रभट्टः
२. रामरुद्रीयम्—रामरुद्रभट्टः
३. नृसिंहप्रकाशिका--नृसिंहीया--शयनरसिंहः

४. पट्टाभिरामप्रकाशिका—वायुग्रन्थपर्यन्ता

५. भास्करोदया--नीलकण्ठीव्याख्या--लक्ष्मीनृसिंहः (नीलकण्ठसूनुः)

६. तर्कफक्किका—क्षमाकल्याणः (जिनलाभसूरिशिष्यः)

७. सूरतकल्पतरुः – श्रीनिवासः

८. टीका--गङ्गाधरभट्टः

९. टीका--जगदीशभट्टः

१०. तत्त्वार्थदीपिका—वाधूलवेङ्कटगुरुः

एवं महतीं प्रसिद्धिमुयगतः स्वप्रज्ञापरिश्रमादिभिः श्रीमानन्नंभट्टः तर्कारण्यं प्रविविक्षूणां स्वागतप्रवक्ता मार्गदर्शको विराजत इति आस्माकीनमाधमर्ण्यं तत्कृते विनिवेद्य सकार्तज्ञ्यं विरम्यत इति शम् ।

आन्ध्राद्दष्टविशेषेण कृष्णातीरेऽवतीर्य यः ।
शास्त्राण्युद्योतयामास सोऽन्नम्भट्टः प्रकाशताम् ॥

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अर्थशास्त्र का रचना काल : एक विमर्श

श्रीमन्नारायण द्विवेदी

प्रयाग

गंगानाथ झा अनुसंधान संस्थान की शोधपत्रिका के महामहोपाध्याय उमेश मिश्र स्मृति अंक में अर्थशास्त्र का रचनाकाल शीर्षक लेख प्रकाशित हुआ है। श्री के० सी० ओझा ने इस लेख में कोगले द्वारा प्रकाशित अर्थशास्त्र की पृष्ठभूमि में एतद्विषयक कतिपय नवीन प्रश्नों को उपस्थापित किया है और अर्थशास्त्र का रचनाकाल ६०० ई० के समसामयिक मानने का आग्रह किया है तथा परम्परागत विचारधारा के अनुसार इसका रचनाकाल चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के समय में मानने के मत को सम्यक् नहीं समझा है।

जहाँ तक अर्थशास्त्र के रचयिता का प्रश्न है उनका विचार है कि कौटिल्य ने मूल अर्थशास्त्र की रचना सूत्रमय शैली में की थी। अर्थशास्त्र की समस्त हस्तलिखित प्रतियों में अर्थशास्त्र के निर्माता के रूप में कौटिल्य का ही उल्लेख है-"इति कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्रे।" किन्तु इस कृति के अन्तिम छन्द को लेकर उन्होंने कुछ नई स्थापनायें की हैं।

दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्तिरवं बहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम्

इसी छन्द के आधार पर उन्होंने लिखा कि मूल अर्थशास्त्र सूत्र रूप में कौटिल्य के नाम से प्रचलित था। कालान्तर में इन सूत्रों पर विष्णुगुप्त द्वारा भाष्य सम्पन्न हुआ तथा यह छन्द प्रक्षिप्त नहीं है।

इसके अनन्तर लेखक ने यह निर्दिष्ट किया हैं कि संस्कृत के विद्वानों ने भ्रान्तिवश विष्णुगुप्त को कौटिल्य रूप में स्वीकार कर लिया है। प्रारंभिक रचनाओं में कौटिल्य को विष्णुगुप्त नहीं कहा गया है। प्रसिद्ध संस्कृत कवि दण्डी ने सातवीं शताब्दी में दशकुमार चरित की रचना की और इस ग्रन्थ में कहा है कि विष्णुगुप्त ने अर्थशास्त्र का "इदानीम्" एक पाठ प्रस्तुत किया है। कामन्दक ने अपने नीतिशास्त्र की रचना अर्थशास्त्र के आधार पर लगभग इसी समय की और विष्णुगुप्त को अपना गुरु स्वीकार किया अतः विष्णुगुप्त इन लोगों के समसामयिक रहे होगें, ऐसा उनका विचार है।

इसके अतिरिक्त अर्थशास्त्र की सूत्रमय शैली पर विस्तृत भाष्य की पृष्ठभूमि में उन्होंने इसे ई० शताब्दी के बाद की रचना स्वीकार करने का आग्रह

किया हैं । पुनः चीन एवं चीन पट्ट के उल्लेख तथा उसकी ऐतिहासिकता पर विचार करते हुए वे अर्थशास्त्र का रचनाकाल ई० शताब्दी के बाद का समय मानते हैं । अर्थशास्त्र की पृष्ठभूमि में इतिहास का अर्थ निरूपण करने वाले वाक्यखण्ड के आधार पर वह पुराण, इतिवृत्त, धर्मशास्त्र एवं अर्थशास्त्र आदि में अर्थशास्त्र की अर्वाचीनता का उल्लेख करते हैं । राजनीतिक विषयों का उल्लेख करने वाले धर्मसूत्र ग्रन्थों के अनन्तर ही अर्थशास्त्र की रचना सम्पन्न हुई, यह भी उनका अभिमत है । स्थापत्य, नगरनिर्माण, रत्नशास्त्र, स्वर्णकारिता, अस्त्र-शस्त्र-निर्माण अश्व-गज-शिक्षण एवं राजकीय पत्र-लेखन संबंधी सम्भारों की समृद्धि के आधार पर वह अर्थशास्त्र की रचना ई० शताब्दी के पूर्व स्वीकार करने की मनस्थिति में नहीं है । प्रबन्ध काव्य एवं धर्मशास्त्रीय रचनाओं की सामग्री तथा अर्थशास्त्र से साम्य के आधार पर वह उनकी सम-सामयिकता की चर्चा करते हैं । इतिहासकार डा० ओझा अशोक के अभिलेखों एवं अर्थशास्त्र की सामग्री की समानता का उल्लेख करते हैं और अर्थशास्त्र में अभिव्यंजित विकसित सभ्यता एवं संस्कृति के आधार पर उसकी रचना विष्णुगुप्त द्वारा ६०० ई० में स्वीकार करते हैं और परंपरा-वादियों के इस मत को भ्रामक मानते हैं कि चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के समय में इसकी रचना सम्पन्न हुई ।

अर्थशास्त्र के रचनाकाल पर विभिन्न दृष्टियों से अनेक विद्वानों ने विचार विमर्श किया है । वि० स० तीसरी चौथी शताब्दी से लेकर ई० सन् तीसरी चौथी और उसके बाद की शताब्दियों तक में इसकी रचना का उल्लेख हुआ है । डा० ओझा द्वारा उठाये गये अनेक प्रश्नों पर पूर्व के अध्येताओं ने व्यापक प्रकाश डाला है किन्तु उन्होंने विष्णु गुप्त और कौटिल्य की विभिन्नता का उल्लेख कर एक नयी समस्या उपस्थिति कर दी हैं । उन्होंने अर्थशास्त्र में आगत निम्नलिखित वाक्य खण्ड के आधार पर कौटिल्य एवं विष्णु गुप्त का पार्थक्य सिद्ध किया है । —

दृष्ट्वा विप्रतिपत्तित्वं बहुधा शास्त्रेषु भाष्यकाराणाम् ।
विष्णुगुप्तः स्वयं चकार सूत्रञ्च भाष्यञ्च ।।

डा० जाली के संस्करण में "स्वयंमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रंचभाष्यञ्च" पाठ है । भाष्यकारों द्वारा शास्त्र का अपकर्ष देखकर विष्णुगुप्त ने सूत्र भी लिखा एवं उस पर भाष्य की रचना भी सम्पन्न की । यही इस वाक्य खण्ड का अर्थ होता है और इससे कौटिल्य एवं विष्णुगुप्त का पार्थक्य सिद्ध नहीं होता ।

विष्णुगुप्त को भ्रमवश कौटिल्य रूप में स्वीकार कर लिया है, यह अभिमत लेखक ने व्यक्त किया है । संस्कृत की प्राचीन रचनाओं में कौटिल्य को विष्णुगुप्त नहीं कहा गया है ऐसा उनका विचार है । इस संदर्भ में लेखक ने कहा

है कि सातवीं शताब्दी में दण्डी ने दशकुमारचरित में विष्णुगुप्त का उल्लेख किया है और 'इदानीम्' अर्थशास्त्र का उनके द्वारा पाठ प्रस्तुत किया जाना अभिव्यक्त किया है। वस्तुतः डा० ओझा ने दण्डी द्वारा कथित प्रसंग का भी सार्थक रूप में उपयोग नहीं किया। दण्डी ने दशकुमारचरित में कहा है :

"अधीष्वतावद्दण्डनीतिम्। इयमिदानीं आचार्य विष्णुगुप्तेन मौर्यार्थे षड्भिः श्लोकसहस्रैः संक्षिप्ता सैवेयमधीत्य सम्यगनुष्ठीयमाना यथोक्तकार्यक्षमेति।"

उपर्युक्त वाक्य खण्ड में "इयमिदानीम् अधीष्व तावद्दण्डनीतिम्" अर्थ ग्रहण अधिक उपयुक्त प्रतीत होता है आचार्य विष्णुगुप्त द्वारा मौर्यार्थ ६००० श्लोकों में अर्थशास्त्र के संक्षेपण की बात स्पष्ट है। कौटिल्य, चाणक्य, विष्णुगुप्त के संदर्भ में अर्थशास्त्र के प्रणयन का जहाँ उल्लेख आया है, उनके पूर्व अनेक आचार्यों द्वारा अर्थशास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों के प्रणयन की बात कही गई है। ऐसी स्थिति में यह अस्वाभाविक नहीं है कि अनेक नामधारी विष्णुगुप्त ने पूर्व के आचार्यों के अभिमत का सार ग्रहण कर संक्षेप में वर्तमान अर्थशास्त्र की रचना की हो।

कामन्दक नीतिशास्त्र के प्रणेता ने विष्णुगुप्त का आचार्य रूप में उल्लेख किया है साथ ही विष्णुगुप्त एवं चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के सामीप्य की भी स्पष्ट सूचना दे दी है जिसकी ओर लेखक का ध्यान नहीं गया। प्रसंगतः कामन्दक की सामग्री उद्धृत की जा सकती है :

यस्याभिचारवज्रेण वज्रज्वलनतेजसः
पपात मूलतः श्रीमान् सुपर्वानन्दपर्वतः
एकाकीमन्त्रशक्त्या यः शक्त्याशक्तिधरोपमः।
आजहार नृचंद्राय चन्द्रगुप्ताय मेदिनीम्
नीतिशास्त्रामृतं धीमानर्थशस्त्रमहोदधेः
समुद्दध्रे नमस्तस्मै विष्णुगुप्ताय वेधसे ॥
दर्शनात्तस्य सुदृशो विद्यानां पारदृश्वनः
यत्किंचिदुपदेक्ष्यामः राजविद्याविदां मतम्।

वस्तुतः दण्डी एवं कामन्दक के इन कथनों से विष्णुगुप्त एवं कौटिल्य का पार्थक्य सिद्ध नहीं होता है। यहाँ विष्णुगुप्त का चन्द्रगुप्त से स्पष्ट संबंध निरूपित किया गया है जो उनकी समसामयिकता का प्रतीक है। कामन्दक नीतिसार के रचयिता ने अर्थशास्त्र के आधार पर इस ग्रंथ की रचना की है और विष्णुगुप्त को गुरु माना है अतः दोनों समसामयिक होगें यह किस प्रकार सिद्ध होता है? वस्तुतः कोई भी रचनाकार अपेक्षित विषय के अपने पूर्ववर्ती अत्यन्त गम्भीर पाण्डित्य सम्पन्न आचार्य का गुरुवत् उल्लेख कर सकता है। अनेक प्रसंगों में

आचार्य कौटिल्य के विभिन्न नामों का उल्लेख हुआ है और प्राचीन संदर्भों से इसकी पुष्टि होती है।

मुद्राराक्षस में आचार्य विष्णुगुप्त का मौर्यों के संदर्भ में उल्लेख है— "विष्णुगुप्तश्च मौर्यश्च च सममप्यागतो त्वया उन्मूलयितुमीशोऽहं त्रिवर्गमिव दुर्नयः त्रिकाण्ड शेष ब्रह्म वर्ग में विष्णुगुप्त, कौटिल्य, चाणक्य, द्रमिल, अङ्गुल आदि उनके अनेक नामों का उल्लेख है।

"विष्णुगुप्तस्तु कौटिल्य श्चाणक्योद्रामिलोऽङ्गुलः।"

जैन आचार्य हेमचन्द्र के 'अभिधान चिन्तामणि' में वात्स्यायन मल्लनाग, कौटिल्य, चणकात्मज, द्रामिल, पक्षिल स्वामी, विष्णुगुप्त एवं अङ्गुल नाम आचार्य कौटिल्य के वतलाये गये हैं।—

वात्स्यायनो मल्लनाग : कौटिल्यः चणकात्मजः
द्रामिल : पक्षिलस्वामी विष्णु गुप्तोऽङ्गुलश्च सः।"

श्लोक। ८५३

यादव प्रकाश में आचार्य के यही नाम गिनाये गये हैं। वस्तुतः इन नामों के प्रस्तुतीकरण में कहीं कहीं यत्किंचित् वैभिन्य दिखलाई देता है। कहीं कुटिल के स्थान पर कुटल पाठ मिलता है। मुद्राराक्षस में चाणक्य को चणकग्रामवासी कहा गया है किन्तु राजेन्द्र लाल मित्र ने चाणक्य का संबंध चणकपितृपरम्परा से जोड़ा है। ऊपर उद्धृत दृष्टान्तों में चाणक्य को चणकात्मज कहा गया है— "कौटिल्यः कुटिलमतिः स एषतेन। क्रोधाग्नौ प्रसभमदाहि नन्दवंशः।" कामन्दक में कुटिल गोत्र का नाम प्रदत्त है। इस वंश के अपत्य होने के कारण उनका नाम कौटिल्य पड़ा, यह भी एक मान्य परम्परा है। इन तथ्यों से उनके विभिन्न नामों की निरुक्ति पूर्व प्रचलित सिद्ध होती है।

श्री हरिहर शास्त्री द्वारा सम्पादित जयमंगला नामक अर्थशास्त्र की टीका में उद्धृत वचनों से आचार्य विष्णुगुप्त एवं कौटिल्य की अभिन्नता सिद्ध होती है। आचार्य विष्णुगुप्त ने पूर्वाचार्यों का मतानुशीलन कर नृपाणामर्थसिद्धये संक्षेप में अर्थशास्त्र की रचना की।—

ब्रह्माध्याय सहस्राणां शतं चक्रे स्वबुद्धिजम्
लब्धे करेण शक्रेण गुरुणा भर्गवेण च
सक्षिप्तं मनसाचैव वहुभिश्च तपोधनैः
प्रजानामायुषो ह्रासं विज्ञाय च महात्मना।
संक्षिप्तं विष्णुगुप्तेन नृपाणामर्थसिद्धये।"

महामहोपाध्याय गणपति शास्त्री ने अर्थशास्त्र की श्रीमूल टीका के समापन में आचार्य विष्णु गुप्त चाणक्य एवं कौटिल्य की अभिन्नता सिद्ध की है । अत्र चाणक्यविष्णुगुप्तापरपर्यायस्यकौटिल्यस्यास्त्रशस्त्रनन्दराजमूभ्युद्धर्तृत्व लक्षणेनासाधारणरूपेणाभिधानपर्यायोक्तं प्रयोजयति । अथात्मनः सूत्रभाष्योभय कर्त्तृत्वांङ्गीकरणे कारणमाह–दृष्ट्वेत्यादि ।

अर्थशास्त्र आचार्य कौटिल्य की अत्यन्त प्रौढ़ रचना है । विषय सामग्री के वैज्ञानिक चयन एवं प्रतिपादन की गंभीरता को देखकर इसे बाद की रचना नहीं स्वीकार किया जा सकता । आचार्य ने अपने पूर्ववर्ती अनेक ग्रन्थकारों की इस विषय से संबंधित सामग्री का उपयोग किया है और वे विभिन्न आचार्यों के मत से अनुप्रेरित हैं । आचार्य कौटिल्य ने मौर्यवंशी राज्यों की सुदृढ़ राज्यव्यवस्था को लक्ष्य कर इस ग्रन्थ का निर्माण किया था, यह कतिपय संदर्भों से पुष्ट होता है ।

"पृथिव्या लाभे पालने च यावन्त्यर्थशास्त्राणि पूर्वाचार्यैः
प्रस्थापितानि प्रायशस्तानि संहृत्यैकमिदमर्थशास्त्रं कृतम् ।"

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सर्वशास्त्राण्यनुक्रम्य प्रयोगमुपलभ्यच ।
कौटिल्येन नरेन्द्रार्थे शासनस्य विधिः कृतः ॥

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येन शास्त्रं च शस्त्रं च नन्दराजगता च भूः
अमर्ष्येणोद्धृतान्याशु तेन शास्त्रमिदं कृतम् ॥

इस प्रकार अनेक प्रमाणों से आचार्य कौटिल्य एवं मौर्य राजन्य का पारस्परिक संबंध सिद्ध होता है ।

जहाँ तक अर्थशास्त्र की रचना शैली का प्रश्न है, वह सूत्र शैली में ही लिखा ग्रन्थ है तथा आचार्य द्ववारा उस पर भाष्य भी संपन्न हुआ है । धर्मसूत्र में उपलब्ध राजनीति संबंधी सामग्री के आधार पर अर्थशास्त्र का रचनाकाल इससे बहुत बाद का नहीं माना जा सकता । अर्थशास्त्र इस तथाकथित राजनीति संबंधी सामाग्री से सवर्था भिन्न एवं स्वतन्त्र कोटि का ग्रंथ है तथा उसमें अर्थशास्त्रीय परंपरा के कतिपय पूर्वाचार्यों का स्पष्ट उल्लेख है । अर्थशास्त्र में समाविष्ट चीनभूमि एवं चीन पट्ट के आधार पर उसकी रचना तिथि ई० की तीसरी चौथी शताब्दी में मानना भी सम्यक् नहीं । श्री कागले ने विक्रम की चौथी शताब्दी में भारत द्वारा चीन की पहचान का उल्लेख किया हैं । अन्य विशेषज्ञ भी भारतीय प्राचीनतम कृतिकारों द्वारा चीन से परिचय की बात को स्वीकार करते हैं । इस सम्बन्ध में एन० लियन हावीस (M. Leon Hambis) का विचार द्रष्टव्य है । उन्होंने लिखा है कि चीन (T-sin) शब्द समस्त चीन देश के लिए ई० दूसरी शताब्दी में प्रयुक्त हुआ, यह सही है । यह वही समय है जबकि चीन (T-sin) पर शासन करने वाले

अधिपतियों ने समस्त भूमिभाग को जीता एवं उस पर अपने प्रभुत्व की घोषणा की किंतु चीन की राजधानी का पूर्व में भी अस्तित्व था। अतः यह पूर्णतया सम्भव है कि भारतीय लेखकों ने चीन (T-sin) नाम का प्रयोग बहुत पूर्व भी किया हो जब इस भूमि भाग को पूर्णतः मान्यता न मिली हो और यह नाम संपूर्ण देश के लिए प्रचलित न रहा हो।

वस्तुतः अर्थशास्त्र के रचनाकाल के संबंध में विद्वानों में मतैक्य नहीं है। ई० पूर्व से लेकर ई० बाद की विभिन्न शताब्दियों में इसकी रचना का अनुमान किया जाता है। कुछ लोग चाणक्य कौटिल्य को चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य का मंत्री मानने में किसी प्रकार की शंका की अपेक्षा अनावश्यक समझते हैं। कुछ अर्थशास्त्र के रचनाकाल संबंधी प्रश्न की खींचतान को लेकर यह अपेक्षित समझते हैं कि अर्थशास्त्र में अभिव्यंजित समाज की गवेषणा अधिक सम्पन्न होनी चाहिए तथा इसकी पृष्ठभूमि में ऐतिहासिक निष्कर्ष निकालना चाहिये। अर्थशास्त्र के रचनाकाल शीर्षक इस निबन्ध में डा०ओझा ने विष्णुगुप्त एवं कौटिल्य को अलग अलग सिद्ध कर विष्णुगुप्त द्वारा ६०० ई० में इसकी रचना संपन्न हुई.यह प्रतिपादित किया है। वस्तुतः परम्परातग व्यापक साहित्य के अनुशीलन से कौटिल्य एवं विष्णुगुप्त में अभेद सिद्ध होता है और किसी भी क्षीण पृष्ठभूमि में इस व्यापक परंपरा का अपलाप करना सम्यक् नहीं प्रतीत होता।

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संदर्भ संकेत :

१) जरनल आफ गंगानाथ झा रिसर्च इन्स्टीच्यूट
२) वही
३) वही,
४) वही,
५) सम्मेलन पत्रिका
६) इकोनोमिक्स इन कौटिल्य—डा० सेन, कलकत्ता

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Embroidery and Bead Work of Kutch and Saurashtra. Edited by J. M. Nanavati. Museum Monograph Series. Department of Archaeology, Government of Gujarat. Pp. 1-125+118 plates. Ahmedabad, 1966. Price Rs. 45/-

The two indigenous crafts of embroidery and bead work of Kutch and Saurastra in the recent past are treated in this book. The discussion is covered in two parts J. M. Nanavati, M. P. Vora and M A. Dhaky have contributed to the first part on embroidery, with a preface, acknowledgment, introduction, details of embroidery, as also patch work, together with subsidiaries (like epilogue, notes, explanation and specimens). Embroidered art appeared on the apparel of a steatite figure of the Indus valley and later in the sculpture and mural paintings of northern and western India, from the 2nd century B. C to the 13th century A. d. The present study is based on 19th century museum pieces in institutions and private custody, the old samples having disappeared owing to the lapse of time. Ornamental knitting was highly developed by the Mochi, Mahajan, Kanbi, Ahir and Rabari schools, which catered to urban tastes, while the rural needs were supplied by the other schools (viz. Khant, Bharad, Charan, Mehr, Wagher, Aboti Brahman etc). The art adopted in this work represents the following techniques-the use of threads of cotton, rough cotton, silk and floss silk); embellishment by the knit-needle with different stitches such as surface, chain, darn, interlace, button-hole and herring bone; use of background cloth for colour effect with handwoven, silk or satin materials; and adoption of work motifs from flora and fauna, human and divine figures and geometrical signs. Various utility articles were made by the crafts men imprinted with these motifs, like petticoat pieces, skirts, blouses, sari borders caps, festival arches, wall hangings, echelons of domestic animals, square coverlets children's wear etc The different schools of workmanship were distinguished by their influences, new idioms, mannerisms and traditions. Some work, like that of the

Ahirs and Rabaries, was emblematic of their pastoral life. Kathi patterns bore resemblance to the proto-historic ceramic ware of the Baluchi and Sindhi remains terracotta figurines of the Kushana and Gupta ages, lattices of the Chaulukya temples and even some architectural ideas of the Gujarat Sultanate. The examples copied were of course coarse, but in general the Kathi class of work was' the most forceful, highly picturesque and incomparable...in all Indian sub-continent'. Some artificers, like the Mochis, adopted for their models the motifs from the Mewari (Nathdwara) school and Rajasthani mannerisms, but their individulity was maintained. Kathi, Mahajan Satwaras, Molesalaam clans especially favoured applique or patch work.

The second part of the book on bead work is by M. A. Dhaky. Bead work was a later development. Soapstone beads, occurring in the Indus civilisation and later times, were worn for ornamentation. In Kutch and Saurashtra mid-19th century beads used to be imported by Indian merchants through Africa. These beads were machine made and costly. Motifs were borrowed from the tie-dye textiles and painted toys. Thriving in Saurashtra, bead work soon rendered embroidery into a subsidiary position. It opened new vistas in motifs, for embroidery had become too stereotyped. The Mochis excelled in early Kathi work on beads. There were four schools-Kathi, coastal Mahajan, Meman and Kanbi. Glass metallic and tubular beads were used. The technique used were-mono—bead (for close setting in the background for items like flat pictures); and tri-bead (like embroidery for depiction of animate beings on a 5 or 7 bead tier etc). Bead decoration was made for many articles of home decor, knick-knacks, and ornamentation of domestic animals. Divine and human figures, birds animals, flowers, plants, and geometrical designs were used for motifs. Bead craft was not more than a 100 years old till 1942. In the beginning it imitated allied traditions. When in 1914 a spurt occurred, the Mochis introduced a new tradition in the harmony of colour and canvass background. At the end of the 1st World War the progress was retarded, because of the low quality of imported beads outmoded motifs and disinterest in knitting. From 1942 the craft declined, with the coming of fiery colours and new designs, by which the ideals of the craft were lost and there was a consequent loss in the variety of articles.

Sri J. M. Nanavati and his collaborators are to be heartily congratulated for producing an authoritative and stimulating book, which will serve as source book for the study of art and textiles.

The disappearance of the old barons is not the only cause for the decline of these arts. Hybrids, western motifs and new stitches have been introduced in the embroidery art by western influences like Craft Institutions and Ladies Societies. The same is good in the case of bead work, for which Indian beads need to be manufactured, as quality beads of the foreign make are not easily available. What is significant is that the motifs and patterns, both in embroidery and bead work, yet remain to be collected and preserved. This art deserves to be revitalised not only in Saurashtra and Kutch, but in the other states as well. The All India Handicrafts Board is the only body which can rescue this important, but neglected, folk art from death and oblivion.

G. N. SALETORE

Selections from Banera Archives (*'Baneḍā Sangrahālay ke Abhilekh'*). (1758-1770). Civil War in Mewar. Edited by Drs. K. S. Gupta and L. P. Mathur, with foreword by Dr. Raghubir Sinh. Sahitya Sansthan, Rajasthan Vidyapeeth, Udaipur. Pp. i—xvi+1-76. Price Rs. 8/-

A feast from the family archives of the rulers of Banerā is presented in this little volume. Earlier records of this series got destroyed by fire. Of the remaining, some 250 volumes were salvaged and arranged. A bare 60 letters, from 1758-1768, appertaining to Rajasthan history are published here. Aurāngzeb when pleased with Bhim Singh the founder of the line, vested him, in 1681, with the government of Banerā. This Ṭhikāṇā became conspicuous later during the Marātha incursions in Mewar.

The letters in this book are in the Mewāri language and Nāgari script. They relate to sundry matters and historical events such as the following—the position of the various Ṭhikāṇās of Mewār: reinstatement of Rājā Rāi Singh of Banerā; death of Mahārāṇā Rāj Singh and the accession of Mahārāṇā Ari Singh; the struggle to the throne of the posthumous Ratan Sing; recalcitrant Bhomias and Jagirdars of Banerā and the help of the Marāthas to Rāi Singh; exactions and movements of Marātha armies from Mālwā; grant of Chauth to Mānāji; agreement (*Rāzināmā*) between Ari Singh and Nāro Paṇḍit; agreement between Ratan Singh and Mahadji Śinde; grant of inām villages to Rāi Singh and his relatives by Ari Singh and Ratan Singh and so on. In addition, from time to time, historical events were reported to Rāi Singh by his Agents in the Jaipur Court.

Ganīm was the appellation given to the Marāthas. Names of their chieftains and officers figure in the documents as Sakhu Bāi (widow of Jankoji Śinde), Mahadji Śinde, Tukoji Rāo Hoḷkar, Bahirji Takpīr (Mahadji's son-in-law), Nāro Paṇḍit, Tānāji Pātil, Tānāji Kharade, Kānhoji Jādav, Bāji Narsingh (Mahadji's favourite), Yeshwant Rāo Wābḷe, Raghurām etc.,

Two reference to the Marātha-Durrāni war, which culminated in the deadly battle of Pānipat, in 1761, came from Jaipur. On 31.12.1760 it was reported that the Marātha and Abdāli a mies had taken up positions at Kuñjapura. Again, on 19.1.1761,

it was affirmed that 'a great battle' was fought (at Panipat), on 14 1.1761, in which the Marāthas were worsted, losses occurred on either side, but greater in the Mar tha camp; Jankoji Sinde, Malhar Rāo Hoḷkar and Sadāshiv Rāo Bhau were killed; and this news was heard with great rejoicing in Jaipur. The news-reporter did not verify his source in the confusion prevalent, as Malhar Rāo escaped from the battle-field. Nevertheless this is on of the earliest reports of the disaster at Pānipat heard at Banerā, just 5 days later.

Rāi Singh wanted Marātha help to chastise his refractory Jāgirdars. While encamping at the Mukund Durrā pass, on the Aravalli mountains, two identical letters, both dated 6.8.1765, were addressed to Rai Singh by the Marātha leaders—one jointly by Subedar Kedār Rāo and Mahadji Sinde and the other by Sakhu Bāi-assuring him that the Marātha commanders were proceeding to Mewār and he should join them, while the strong-holds of the rebels would be reduced on the return journey of the troops. The Marāthas apparently did nothing, as late as 1768, at the close of which Bahirji Takpir wrote to Rāi Singh assuring all help to meet danger.

Rāi Singh got three letters from Ari Singh. In one of these, dated 2.5 1767, the brotherly help of Rāi Singh was acknowledged and his aloofness from the defectors was appreciated, in return for which the Mahārāṇā held out promises of favours. Again the Mahārāṇā commended Rāi Singh, on 7.10.1768, for joining in the fight against Ratan Singh, for which former pledges were invoked. Ratan Singh too meanwhile addressed a *Parwānā* on 26.7.1768 to Rai Singh agreeing to exchange certain villages, vacate some forts and assign jāgirs on his relatives. From Kumbhalmer, the stronest fortress of Ratan Singh, came a letter, dated 6 8 1768, informing Rāi Singh that 2 jagirs had been given to him and advising him to abide by the "Dharma of Loyalty" and join Ratan Singh. So Rāi Singh was playing in both camps.

The generality of the records relate to the civil war of 1764-1769, fought between Ari Singh and Ratan Singh for the throne of Mewār. The contenders enlisted the aid of the Ṭhikāṇedārs and Marāthas. Rāi Singh finally sided with Ari Singh. It is

revealed in a letter, dated 25.11.1768 that Mahadji Śinde received the fugitive Ratan Singh at Ujjain, in the sacred temple of Mahākāla, and an agreement was made (*eso Karār ṭhero*), by which Mahadji Śinde was to be paid 30 lakhs for enthroning Ratan Singh on the Mewar throne. The correspondence abruptly ends after this on 28.12.1768. From other sources it is known that Ari Sing became enraged with Mahadji Śinde's behaviuor and attacked him on the banks of the Śiprā, near Ujjain. In this battle Ari Singh was defeated and killed, losing in the fight many adherents like Rāi Singh, Umaid Singh of Shāhpura and others. Umaid Singh's mausoleum is found at the side of the battle.

There is no index to this book. The letters are not numbered in order to facilitate referencing. The printing could have been better.

This is indeed a very valuable addition to Rajput and Maratha history. Drs. K. S. Gupta and L. P. Mathur have done the editing of this book commendably. Every effort should be made to continue the history of Banera in subsequ ent volumes.

G. N. SALETORE.

A Critical Study of the Ancient Hindu Astronomy in the Light and Language of the Modern. By D. Arka Somayaji. Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1971. Pp. [v], V, 186, x. Rs. 12; $ 4; Sh. 25.

Mathematics and Astronomy happen to be the two scientific disciplines to which significant contribution has been made by ancient India. But it has to be conceded that Sanskrit language and the special terminology used in Indian texts have stood in the way of '*modern*' scholars in adequately understanding and recognizing the extent of this contribution. The general practice of Indian texts, *viz*., to stop with the enunciation of theorems and procedures, without setting out the rationale therefor, has necessitated the working out, by the *modern* student, the rationale behind such theorems and procedures. A fairly adequate exposition of Hindu Mathematics in modern terminology may be said to be available in the writings of H. T. Colebrooke, B. B. Dutta and A. N. Singh with regard to Arithmetic and Algebra, and of geometry and trigonometry in the works of B. B. Datta, *Science of the Sulba*, T. A. Saraswathy, *Geometry in Ancient and Mediaeval India*, and R. C. Gupta, *Trigonometry in Ancient and Mediaeval India*, (the last two being doctoral theses, under publication). But a systematic exposition of Hindu Spherical trigonometry and astronometrical procedures had been lacking, notwithstanding the work of scholars like Burgess, Whitney, P. C. Sen Gupta, K. S. Shukla and P. K. Koru, who limited themselves to the exposition of individual texts. This lacuna is sought to be filled by D. A. Somayaji in the book under review, which is his doctoral thesis accepted by the Karnatak University.

In eleven chapters, the book deals with the major subjects as depicted in the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* and the *Sūryasiddhānta* and offers Western parallels and mathematical rationale for them. The subjects so treated include plane and spherical trigonometry, luni-solar calendar, gnomonics, planetary motion, *valana* and *dṛk-karma*, geocentric parallax, eclipse computation and conjunctions of planets and stars. The author's exposition, is simple and direct. Many an intricate enunciation in the early texts take a logical turn through his rationalisation. Particularly so are the enunciations involving the *Tripraśna, viz., dik, deśa* and *kāla* (pp. 27-68) and the concepts of *valana* and *dṛk-karma*,

which are peculiar to Hindu Astronomy (pp. 124-37). The Miscellaneous Notes that he has added towards the end of the book are instructive. To be sure, the book will go a long way in giving students of Western Astronomy an insight into Hindu mathematical thought. And, as such, it will be warmly welcomed by the scholarly world.

The author echoes the seemingly hardened opinion that in Indian Astronomy, "Bhāskara (II, 12th cent.) is the last name in the field. Barring a number of commentaries, no name worthy of mention is there in India subsequent to Bhāskara". (p.3). This view deserves reconsideration in the light of the high-level cultivation of Astronomy and Mathematics, during later times. The present reviewer has drawn pointed attention, in his book, *History of the Kerala School of Hindu Astronomy*, to the significant contribution to the said disciplines by 14th to 17th century astronomers like Mādhava, Parameśvara, Nīlakaṇṭha, Nārāyaṇa and Acyuta, and even to anticipations by them of significant modern discoveries and enunciations. This gives a lie to the oft-repeated assertion of the desuetude of astronomical thought in post-Bhāskara India. It is necessary to point out, here, that the ascription of the *Bījopanaya* to Bhāskara, as accepted by the author (p. 175), is not correct. The *Bījopanaya* is a later work as shown by T. S. Kuppanna Sastri in an article in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, 8 (1958-59) 399-409.

The book is well printed and got up, and very moderately priced. But it suffers much in the matter of presentation on account of the obtuse transliteration that is used, *e.q.*, *Kaartica* (pp. 20, 21), *opracaasa* (p. 22); bunching of quotations referred to in the book as an Appendix; the non-alphabetical arrangement of technical terms in Appendix B, occasional errors in spelling, incomplete bibliography and the lack of a subject Index.

K. V. SHARMA
Hoshiarpur

Astronomical Light on Vedic Culture. By Prof. R. V. Vaidya. Karnatak Printing Press, Bombay, 1964. Pp. 8+114.

Professor Vaidya has presented in his book the results of his closely integrated study of the three branches of Vedic culture—Vedic literature, Sacrificial System and Astronomy of the period between 12000 and 3000 B. C. He started with the assumption that the Vedic people once lived in the North Polar Region for a considerable time and observed astronomical phenomena and conditions that were only visible to people living in the polar region where the celestial Equtor itself is the horizon. The correct descriptions of these events given in the Vedic *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* lend support to his assumption. He also attempted to show, how the early Vedic seers evolved the three main systems of time units one after another and linked them with the sacrificial system and how succeeding generations tried to incorporate their traditional subdivisions with suitable modifications as they moved farther and farther away from their polar residence. In support of his theory, Vaidya quotes relevant Vedic passages which according to him could be grouped in *Sūktas* in a definite chronological order.

As the "precession of the equinoxes" was unknown to the Vedic sages, Vaidya rejected calculations based thereon, and took as his guiding principles the rise of a star exactly in the East for finding the Nakshatra age, quoting Vedic passages clearly showing that the commencement of a year, a sacrifice and a Prajāpati always coincided with a star rising in the East. The units of time were based on actual observation of astronomical phenomena, and the various aspects of the sacrificial systems were evolved at different stages of Vedic culture in close alliance with the different set of units. One of these units the *Ahorātra* of Brahmā seems to have been suggested to the ancient Rishis by the gradual retrograde shifting of the sun's rising positon in the celestial horizon of the pole. An interval of about 1000 years brought about the shift by one Nakshatra, and at the earliest stage there were 24 such Nakshatras to complete the cycle. This number however was finally brought up to 27 which made Brahma's *Ahorātra* a period of 27000 years. Similarly the Divine

(*Daivī*) system was determined by the sun's movement in *Devayāna*.

The author has attempted to show that Sanskrit words like *Aha*, *Saṁvatsara Manu*, *Kalpa*, *Mukham Ṛtu* etc. lost their original meaning during the *Smṛti* period. He is also of the opinion that at the early stage there were only a few Vedic deities. He is very keen about the correct interpretation of Vedic hymns, stories and traditions enshrined in astronomical legends and myths. He has also pointed out the influence of Vedic culture on ancient religions of the world.

Though at present there is a good deal of controversy regarding the early home of the Aryan people, the commendable research of Professor Vaidya has thrown some new light on the subject. His presentation of materials in this small book is lucid and supported by tables and diagrams. The errata list however is woefully incomplete and deserves further attention.

S. C. SEN GUPTA

(1) *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa—Mahābhāṣya, Samarthāhnika* (P. 2-1-1). Edited with Translation and Explanatory Notes. By S. D. Joshi. Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit. Class C. No. 3. University of Poona [Poona, 1968]. Pp. xix+224.

(2) —do—, *Avyayībhāvatatpuruṣāhnika* (P. 2.1.2—2.1.49). By S. D. Joshi in collaboration with J. A F. Roodbergen.........Class C. No. 5. [1969] Pp. xxvii+256

On going through the *Mahābhāṣyam* (*MB*) which is a scholastic investigation into the logical and linguistic appropriateness of Pāṇini's (P.) wording of the *sutra*-s *via* Kātyāyana's *vārttika-s*, one cannot but help agreeing with Kaiyaṭa in his proposition : *yathottaraṁ hi munitrayasya prāmāṇyam*, and with the traditional sanskrit adage : *Mahābhā yaṁ vā paṭhanīyaṁ, mahārājyaṁ vā pālaniyam.* It is a well-known fact that the language of the *MB* is lucid and it is couched in the *pūrvapakṣa-siddhānta* style—the most incontrovertible methodology embraced by the hierarchic circle (the grammarians, logicians, exegetists, philosophers). Nevertheless the interpretation of the *MB* has remained a *crux criticorum* since the time of Bhartṛhari. Consequently Patañjali's (Pat.) *magnum opus* appears to be a sealed book to those who are not reared in the mechanistic procedure set up by the grammatical triumvirs. Yet several attempts were made to translate the *MB*, and mention could be made of Mm. Vasudeva Sastri Abhyankar's Marathi rendition and Professor P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri's '*Lectures on the Mahābhāṣya*'. And now, we have S. D. Joshi's (SDJ) translation of the *MB* with the collaboration of J.A.F. Roodbergen in which he penetrates into the hidden sense of the dark sayings that pass under the powerful pen of Pat.

The *Samarthāhnika* (*SA*) is entirely devoted to a logical and linguistic exposition of *A*. 2, 1, 1, and the 14 topics discussed in this section are as follows : (1) significance of the metaterm *vidhi*-(grammatical operation), (2) *A*. 2, 1, 1 as an *adhikāra* or *paribhāṣā* rule, (3) purpose of using the word *samartha* in the rule or *samartha-paribhāṣā*, (4) the meaning of *samartha*- (single integrated meaning—examination of the different characteristics of semantic connection, (5) special features of the single-integrated-meaning notion, (6) denotation of word-meaning—natural or, taught by

Grammar, (7) definitions of integration (*vṛtti-*), (8) refutation of the objections raised against semantic connection, (9) definition of the sentence, (10) formation of the compound *rājagavīkṣīra-*' (11) the purpose behind structuring the term *padavidhi*—(operation dealing with finished words), (12) refutation of the argument that *A*. 2, 1, 1 has no meaning, (13) examination of the problem of syntactic agreement, and (14) determination of the exact number of components in a compound-formation. The *Avyayībhāvatatpuruṣāhnika* (*AT*) contains Pat.'s commentary on 48 rules of P. (*A*. 2, 1, 2—49).

It goes to the entire credit of SDJ that he could translate not merely the *MB* but also relevant portions from the *Pradīpa* and the *Uddyota* in the *SA*; but in the *AT* the entire *Pradīpa* has been rendered into English. While in the *SA* the text of the *MB* alone is printed, the *AT* contains the text of Pat. accompanied by the *Pradīpa* and the *Uddyota* commentaries.

The plan adopt in both the volumes is to divide the text of the *MB* into several sections and to subdivide each section into paragraphs which are serially numbered. This obviously facilitates ready reference. Furthermore, section-titles, bracket headings and subheadings are inserted both in the Sanskrit original and in the translation. His notes are exhaustive, intelligent and useful. His prose is clear and accurate, and when his English deviates from the Sanskrit, one may confidentally account for SDJ's departure for the sake of clarity.

In his introduction SDJ discusses at length the place of the grammatical triumvirs, the characteristic features of Pat's style, a resume of the 14 topics covered in the *SA* and and observations on the text and translation. He has also pointed out that Pat. tries to bridge the gulf between the two extreme approaches, namely that of P.'s descriptive procedure and of Kātyāyana's philosophical assumptions. In his introduction to the *AT* he has chosen the following topics for discussion : some problems in translating the *MB*, reinterpretation versus historical development, the task of the modern interpreter, the analysis of the topics covered in the *AT* and a note on the text and translation. Students of Sanskrit Grammar will find of particular interest the grammatical steps (*prakriyā*)

given for certain formations in the notes. There are altogether 151 notes in the *AT*, which demonstrate SDJ's scholarship.

Translating is, indeed, a very complicated kind of communicating activity, since it is a very difficult task to reproduce as exactly as possible the content of Pat.'s message in the object/target language. English translators of technical Sanskrit treatises will often be beset with special problems posed by the nature of the Sanskrit language—the technical grammatical terminology, the compound structure and the syntactic pattern. SDJ condidly admits of the fact that a definite, final or an ideal rendition of the *MB* is hardly possible Therefore it is but natural that in such a tremen dous feat as the one displayed by the author, he may get out of his position accidentally. In p. 64 (*SA*) the collocation *rājño—gaṇāśvapuruṣah* may be rendered as 'cow (s)-horse(s)-man(men) belong ing to a King' in lieu of 'cow-horse-man-s belonging to a king'. In p. 55 (*id.*) *ekārthibhāvaphalanirūpaṇādhikaraṇam* is translated as: "Now starts the section in which examples of single integrated meaning are examined". But in p. 64 (para 62, Sect. V) we find the some collocation rendered as: "Here endss . . . .pecial features . . . are examined". It is desirable to substitute 'special features' for 'examples' in p. 55 to maintain consistency. Again the word *dūṣaṇa-* in *sāmarthyadūṣaṇanirākaraṇādhikaraṇam* (p. 92, Sect VIII, l. 8 *SA*) is rendered as 'objection' in p. 92 and as 'shortcomings' in p. 105. Read the text of the *MB* (*AT*) on the rule: *pañcamī bhayena* (*A.* 2 1, 37) in p. 64, where the numbering of the paragraphs are: 1. *atyalpam idam ucyate . . . iti.* The second para begins with: 2. *apara āha.* But in his translation (p. 222 ff.) SDJ marks three paras, and his second para is the translation for the text: *bhaya . . . vaktavyam* which obviously sounds like a *vārttikam*, as has been candidly admitted by Kaiyaṭa: *bhayeneti . . . vārttikārambhaḥ*. Consequently SDJ should have numbered it as the second para in the text (p. 64), while No. 3 must be inserted at the beginning of the sentence: *apara āha* (instead of No. 2).

The index of select technical vocables in Sanskrit and of the metaterms in English given at the end of both the volumes is useful The printing is neat, and the different types used to distinguish Pat.'s text from the commentaries of Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa add grace to the volumes.

With due caution SDJ endeavours to bring nearer to our comprehension the linguistic atmosphere in which the protogonists of the Pāṇinian School lived and expounded the unique, unrivalled grammatical system. Needless to say, the two volumes under review are important and useful to professional teachers of the *MB* and to the students of Sanskrit linguistics. Western and Eastern students of Sanskrit Grammar would wish that SDJ could come forward to render the remaining *āhnika*-s of the *MB* into faithful but beautiful English. Besides congratulating the author, I would like to compliment the Dandekarian School of Sanskrit Studies at the University of Poona on its fine contributions.

M.D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

A Critcal Study of Daṇḍin and his Works. By Dr. Dharmendra Kumar Gupta. Published by Meharchand Lachhamandas, Delhi, 1970; Pp. 244+68; Rs. 40.00

Daṇḍin enjoys, both as a rhetorician and as a writer of prose romances, a unique position in the classical Sanskrit literature. In the field of Sanskrit poetics, he as one of its early writers paved the way for the subsequent development of the doctrines of poetics embodied in the works of the later theorists. In the arena of Sanskrit prose his name comes with Subandhu and Bāṇa, the great masters of the classical prose style in Sanskrit. In his singularly outspoken approach to life and to its surroundings, however, he is essentially different from them and most of the other writers of Sanskrit. He makes a significnat departure from the conventional outlook on life and its problems, which we notice in most of the Sanskrit writers, and it is in this respect that he makes a breaktherough from tradition and stands alone and far away from the orthodox line of the Sanskrit writers

The present work, originally a thesis approved for the degree of Ph.D. by the Punjab University, Chandigarh, is a critical study of this great writer of Sanskrit, undertaken with remarkable success by Dr. Gupta of the Department of Sanskrit, Punjabi University, Patiala The study accords a most searching and a thoroughly critical treatment to the works of Daṇḍin who, despite his important place both as a teacher of Sanskrit poetics and a master of Sanskrit prose, remained hereto unattended. Dr. Gupta in this work makes a critical estimate of his contribution to the science of poetry at the earliest phase of its development and also to the classical prose literature in Sanskrit. He has, in another study brought out recently under the caption ***Society and Culture in the Time of Daṇḍin*** (Delhi, 1972), dealt with the social and cultural aspect of Daṇḍin's writings. Taken together, these two works of Dr. Gupta form a complete study of all the important aspects relating to Daṇḍin and his creative and critical writings, and secure for their author an eminent place in the younger generation of Sanskrit scholarship.

The work under review is divided into three parts, each containing a number of chapters dealing with different aspects of the subject of study. The first part discusses, in four chapters, the problems relating to Daṇḍin's identity, his works and the period in which he

lived, and his life, and throws a fresh light on many of the important aspects of the much-debated questions. It examines in its opening chapter the vital question of the identity of Daṇḍin and forcefully refutes the theory of more than one writer bearing the name Daṇḍin and thus establishes in definite terms the common authorship af the works, *Kāvyādarśa*, *Daśakumāracarita*, *Avantisundarīkathā*, and a *Dvisaṁdhānakāvya* (which is now lost), traditionally attributed to Daṇḍin. The author has herein ransacked all the available data and has critically examined all the evidences, both internal and external, and has carefully brought them to bear upon his theory of one Daṇḍin. He has, again, tried for the first time to solve with a notable degree of success the knotty problem of the date of Daṇḍin. In determining his date he has thoroughly gone into the question of his relative chronological position with Bhāmaha, and has also carefully examined the evidence provided by the *Avantisundarīkathā* and its anonymous summary in verse style—the *Avantisundvrīkathāsāra*. On the basis of the evidences available, he has placed Daṇḍin towards the close of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A. D.

The second part of the work takes up a critical analysis of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. Tracing the beginnings of the theories on poetry in Sanskrit and making a brief reference to the earliest writers on poetics, it proceeds to elucidate and to assess, in a comprehensive manner, Daṇḍin's concept of poetry and its purposes and sources, and his theories of *mārga* (*rīti*), *guṇa*, *doṣa* and *alaṁkāra*. The author has followed a thoroughly historical method in his examination of the poetical doctrines enunciated by Daṇḍin. Against the prevalent view that Daṇḍin affiliated himself essentially to the *rīti* school eminently propped up by Vāmana, Dr. Gupta has ventured to show with ample evidence that "Daṇḍin is as forceful a propunder of the *alaṁkāra* theory as that of the *mārga* doctrine and that he cannot be exclusively associated with either of the two schools".

The third part makes a critical estimate of Daṇḍin as a writer of prose romances, with a brief reference in two separate chapters to the origin of prose and pre-Daṇḍin development of prose *kāvya* and to the circumstances, characteristics and achievements of the age in which Daṇḍin lived and wrote. It then takes up in two

subsequent chapters a detailed examination of the art and style of Daṇḍin, and gives a brilliant and a lucid exposition to his poetic vision, thus enabling us to have a clearer and a more comprehensive view of the mind and art of one of the greatest classicists of India.

The author has given at the end a number of useful appendices which are meant to support and supplement the discussions entered into in the main body of the work. These provide us with comparative data of manifold importance, some of them having a direct bearing on the vital issues relating to the works of Daṇḍin and his time.

While gliding through the pages of this excellent piece of research on Daṇḍin one is impressed by the deep and comprehensive study the author has made of the available literature on Daṇḍin and by the rare thoroughness he has been able to effect in his work. The entire study is most carefully planned and finely executed and is elaborately documented. Besides, the presentation of the subject-matter is throughout scholarly and, at the same time, readable. The author has put forth his conclusions in a forceful manner and has substantiated them with ample evidence and with convincing arguments. His work as a result has become a reference-book on Daṇḍin's literature, and can profitably be used as such both by scholars and students of classical Sanskrit literature.

C. D. BIJELWAN

इन्द्रयक्षीयं काव्यम्। लेखक :—स्वयं प्रकाश शर्मा शास्त्री, प्रकाशक :—स्वयं प्रकाश शर्मा शास्त्री, प्रकाशनकाल:—१९७० पृ. सं. xvi + १०७ + iii मूल्यम् ३.००

इदं काव्यं "केनोपनिषदो" यक्षोपाख्यानमाश्रित्य विरचितं सर्गचतुष्टयात्मकं वर्तते। काव्यस्यास्य विषयः संक्षेपेणात्र प्रस्तूयते।

एकदा देवाः राक्षसैः सह युध्यन्तेस्म। राक्षसानां पुरतः देवाः पराजितोन्मुखाः आसन्। तदा ते ब्रह्माणं विजयप्राप्त्यर्थमप्रार्थयन्। ब्रह्मणा आशीर्दत्ता यत् "विजयं प्राप्स्यथ इति। तत्प्रभावात् देवा : विजयमापुः। ततः विजयोन्मत्तास्ते ब्रह्माणं व्यस्मरन्। एतत् ज्ञात्वा ब्रह्मा एतान् शिक्षयामास। तदनुसारेण सः यक्षरूपं धृत्वा देवानां पुरतः समागच्छत्। अग्नेर्वायोश्च स्वस्वासाधारणशक्ती पराजितवान्। ततो देवाः भीताः सन्तः इन्द्रं प्रेषयामासुः। इन्द्रः यक्षं द्रष्टुं समाजगाम तदा यक्षः अन्तर्धानमैच्छत्। तपसा तं द्रष्टुं इन्द्रः उद्युक्तो भूत्वा तपः कर्तुं उपचक्रमे। स्वपतिं तपश्चरन्तं दृष्ट्वा इन्द्राणी अपि तप आचरितुमारेभे। द्वयोः कठिनं तपः ज्ञात्वा भगवती उमा ताभ्यां दर्शनं दत्वा यक्षकृतपरीक्षाविधिं प्रावदत्। तदा इन्द्रः स्वकृतापराधं प्रति महद् दुःखमनुभूय स्वापराधं क्षन्तुं भगवतीमुमामयाचत तामस्तौच्च। उमा तमुपादिशत् भारतमेव तादृशो देशः यत्र यःकोऽपि पुरुषः मोक्षं प्राप्तुं शक्नुयात्। एतदुपदेशेन काव्यं समाप्तिमेति।

"मा गर्वेण भूयाः" "मा कृतघ्नेन भूयाः" इति मुख्यतः उपदिशति। अतः सर्वैः पठनीयम्।

जि० रामा

समाजसंस्कारक रघुनन्दन (Raghunandana A Social Refoımer) :—लेखिका प्रकाशिका च—श्रीमती वाणी चक्रवर्ती एम० ए० स्मृतितीर्थ, कालीकुमारबनर्जी लेन, कलिकाता—२। मूल्यम्—सार्धसप्तरूप्यकाणि। पत्राणि ३२० मितानि।

वङ्गभाषायां लिखितं ग्रन्थरत्नमेतत् दीर्घकालिक्याः कठिनपरिश्रमसाध्यगवेषणायाः परिणतिरित्यत्र विवादाभावः। मीमांसाजालजटिलानामष्टाविंशतित्त्वानां-रचयितुः पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारावारपारीणस्य रघुनन्दनस्य गहनतमाभिप्रायाविष्कारसमये यथैतद्ग्रन्थरत्नमुपकरोति तज् ज्ञान् न तथान्यः कश्चित्।

वङ्गदेशीय धर्मशास्त्रनिवन्धान् साङ्गोपाङ्गमधीत्य तान् सम्यगवगत्य च सरलतमया भाषया वोधगम्यया शैल्या विषयवस्तूपस्थापनमिह, लेखिकायाः वैदुष्यसीरमं सर्वत्र पाठकेषु विकिरति। मैथिलस्मार्तानां वाचस्पतिचण्डेश्वर प्रभृतीनां निवन्धैः साकं वङ्गदेशीयनिवन्धान् यथायथं तुलयित्वा शेमुषीजुषां पुर धर्मशास्त्रनवनीतस्य प्रतिपादनं लेखिकाया अनितरसाधारणीं प्रतिभामभिव्यनक्ति। न केवलमिह रघुनन्दनघृतधर्मशास्त्रीयविषयाणामेव समालोचनमपि तु वङ्गदेशप्रचलितधर्मशास्त्राणामाचारविशेषाणां चोद्भवविकासपरम्परायाः रोचकमितिवृत्तमपि संरक्षितं विद्यते।

इतः पूर्वं रघुनन्दनकृतिषु दुःखवोधतां प्रकल्प्य न केनापि गवेषणासाहसमकारि। धर्मशास्त्रीयेतिवृत्तविदां गृहेषु नाममात्रं चिरादेनस्यानुश्रुतमासीत्। अत एवैतादृशविषयमासाद्य प्रवृत्तायाः प्रकृतलेखिकायाः सफलं प्रयासं वीक्ष्य तामभिनान्दितुं मनस्युत्साहोऽभिलाषश्च जायते।

ग्रन्थरत्नेन चानेन भारतीयसस्कृतिसंरक्षणमेव न भवति अपितु केषांचनाज्ञातचरव्यवहाराणां रहस्यमप्युद्घाटितं भवति। अत एवैतस्योपयोगितायां न संशयितव्यम्। अधुना समपेक्ष्यत एतादृशग्रन्थानां प्रकाशनम्। आङ्गलभाषायां हिन्द्यां सुरभारत्यां वा यद्ययं ग्रन्थो भवेत् वङ्गभाषेतरभाषाजुषामपि भहते उपकराय कल्पेत इति।

किशोरनाथ झा

F. 30

शाब्दतरङ्गिणी। लेखक :—पण्डितराजश्री वी. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री। प्रकाशक:—मद्रपुरीसंस्कृतविद्यासमितिसचिव:, १४, पूर्वमाडवीथी मद्रास ४। प्रकाशनकाल: १९६९ ख्रिष्टाब्द:। पृष्ठसंख्या २१६+६४। मूल्यम्—दशरूप्यकाणि। आकृति: २१×१४ से. मी.।

शाब्दबोधविषयक: शास्त्रार्थं: मीमांसान्यायदर्शनाभ्यां साकं व्याकरणशास्त्रेऽपि वैशद्येन विवेचित: इति विदितं प्रज्ञावताम्। आलङ्कारिकाणामिहादरभाजनं वैयाकरणानां सिद्धान्ता: प्रामुख्येनेत्यपि न तिरोहितं विद्वल्लोचनेभ्य:। कदाचित् तेषामिह मौलिकोऽपि राद्धान्त: दृष्टिपथातिथि र्भवति। पुन: वैयाकरणेषु कौण्डभट्टेन सह नागेशभट्टस्य मतभेद: मीमांसायां प्राभाकरकौमारिलयो: अधिसिद्धान्तं गोत्रकलह:, प्राचीननवीनयोर्नैयायिकयो र्विचारवैविध्यं च प्रकृतविषयस्य तलप्रवेशं कृत्वा तं विस्तारेण संवर्द्धयति। अत एव प्राचीनपण्डितेषु शब्दखण्डस्य पृथक् महत्वं प्रख्यातमेव विद्यते। शब्दखण्डे विशिष्टोऽयमित्यादिवचसा तद्विद: प्रत्यादरं द्योतयति विद्वदवृन्दमित्यस्माभि: दृश्यते। परमद्यावधि नैकोऽप्येतादृश: ग्रन्थ: प्रकाशमगमत् यत्र शाब्दबोधस्य स्वरूपकारणप्रकारादय: परिणाहेन गाम्भीर्येण च विचारिता:। तद्रिक्ततापरिपूरणे समर्थोऽयं ग्रन्थ: नूनं मतिमतां पूजाभाजनं भवेदित्यस्मदादीनां धारणा। अत एवास्मिन् ग्रन्थे विदुषामभिरुचि: प्रमोदश्च स्वाभाविक:।

परिणतवयसो विदुष: लेखकस्य विद्यापरिपाकफलमिदं ग्रन्थरत्नं सरलया भाषया सुबोधयाल्पज्ञबोधनक्षमया च शैल्या लिखितं शब्दबोधस्य स्वरूपकारणादिकं विवेचयति सुनिपुणम्। इह प्रमाणानां द्रढिमा उपपादनस्य पटिमा शास्त्रार्थस्य गरिमा विविधग्रन्थेभ्य: विषयनवनीतसंग्रहस्य च कुशलिमा प्रसभमध्येतॄणां मनांसि हरन्ति। सर्वे विषया: मूलात् पल्लवं यावत् पल्लविता: तारिव क्याथ चैतिहासिक्या दृष्ट्या विवेचिता: शृङ्खलायां निबद्धा: सन्ति।

यद्यपि लेखकस्य न्यायमते पक्षपात:। अत एव मीमांसकानां वैयाकरणानां च मतानि पूर्वपक्षतया नैयायिकानां सिद्धान्ताश्चोत्तरपक्षतया परिगृहीता: इह ग्रन्थकृता। सर्वेषां मतानांमद्यतनकालपर्यन्तमुपलब्धां सामग्रीं सम्यगाकलय्य स्वकीयप्रतिभया तेषु युक्तायुक्तता लेखकेन विचारिता। आधुनिका: गोकुलनाथगिरिधरोपाध्यायाभ्यां सह धर्मदत्त (बच्चा) झाप्रभृतयोऽपि समुद्धृता: यथावसरमिहेति ग्रन्थकर्तुरभिनन्दनीयं विषयसंग्रहकौशलं तदुपस्थापननैपुण्यं च विभावनीयतामर्हति। शाब्दबोधविषयके शास्त्रार्थे यथा यथ विकास: मसंजनि तथा तथा तस्य समावेश इह सर्वथा कौतुकं तनुते मादृशाम्।

विषयप्रतिपादनसौकर्याय षट्सु तरङ्गेषु ग्रन्थः विभाजितोऽस्ति । तत्र प्रथमस्तरङ्गस्तावत् कौमारिलमभिहितान्वयवादं प्राभाकरमन्विताभिधानवादं च प्रतिपाद्य प्रामाणिकानां मतमभिधायोपसंहरति । द्वितीयस्तरङ्गः पदपदार्थयोः संबन्धात्मिकां वृत्तिं निरूपयति । अत्र च प्राचीननवीनवैयाकरणयो र्मतभेदेन सह पुरातनाद्यतननैयायिकयोः सिद्धान्तौ विवेचितौ । तृतीयस्तरङ्गः समासस्थले वैयाकरणस्यैकार्थीभाववादं पूर्वपक्षतया संगृह्य नैयायिकस्य व्यपेक्षावादस्थापनेनोत्तरयति । चतुर्थस्तरङ्गः लक्षणायाः स्वरूपप्रकारादिकं निगदति प्रसङ्गतस्तद्बीजादिकं च निर्दिशति । पञ्चमस्तरङ्गः व्यञ्जनावृत्तौ सकलदार्शनिकाणामनुमतिं दर्शयति एतद्विषयकश्च नैयायिकालङ्कारिकयोः शास्त्रार्थः सुनिपुणमुपपादितस्तत्र । षष्ठस्तरङ्गः नैयायिकानुमतं प्रथमान्तार्थमुख्यविशेष्यकं शाब्दबोधं सिद्धान्ततया निरूपयति । प्रसङ्गतः मीमांसकवैयाकरणयोः भावनामुख्यविशेष्यकं व्यापारमुख्य विशेष्यकं च शाब्दबोधं यथायथं विस्तारेण प्रतिपादयति । प्रस्तावनायामेतद्विषयकः ऐतिहासिकः क्रमः मीमांसान्यायव्याकरणालङ्कारशास्त्राणां मदभेदतालिकया सह प्रदर्शितः । एष च क्रमोऽधुना गवेषणानिरतानां महते उपकाराय कल्पते ।

एतादृशग्रन्थरत्नस्य प्रकाशिका मद्रपुरी संस्कृतिविद्यासमितिः सर्वथा धन्यवादार्हा । अनेन च ग्रन्थरत्नेनालोकितो भवति सारस्वतः भाण्डागारः ।

किशोर नाथ झा

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